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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1905.

## The Week.

A rich man bewailing the hardships of great wealth is about the most ill-graced of imaginable public instructors, but the President ran him a close second on Friday in lauding Mr. Hay and Mr. Root for preferring the public service to the accumulation of money. There has been something too much of this in the general mouth, but Mr. Roosevelt, as usual, caught up the commonplace and gave it out with redoubled emphasis. Consider the facts. The speaker himself inherited a competence, and has never had to think anxiously of the morrow. Secretary Hay was the possessor of several millions. Mr. Root is a wealthy man. To talk, in such circumstances, as if there were a question of taking vows of poverty in order to serve the State, is absurd. It is just as easy to be mawkish about riches as about poverty, though laments over a beggarly two millions or so are more disgusting than exaggerated outcries about the lot of the poor.

One of the sacrifices, not pecuniary, which Mr. Root will have to make in becoming Secretary of State is of a certain chartered liberty of speech. It will no longer do for him to utter in public a sentiment offensive to a foreign Government. At the farewell dinner to Ambassador Cambon in 1902, so comic at the time, so tragic since, in the light of the Equitable revelations, Mr. Root, who was then Secretary of War and spoke for the Administration, was guilty of an indiscretion almost as blazing as Lord Salisbury's reference to Spain as a "dying nation." The Secretary expressed the pious hope that M. Cambon would, at Madrid, do what was humanly possible to create "a great Latin republican empire on the Continent of Europe, in which the Seine and the Guadalquivir would flow in unison and harmony." That is, he urged the French Ambassador to Spain to do what he could to overthrow the Government to which he was accredited! This may have been intended as a joke, but international jokes are one of the things which a man who becomes Secretary of State must eschew. Seward's famous playing upon the solemnity of the Duke of Newcastle returned to plague him in the anxious days of the *Trent* affair.

President Roosevelt's order of Saturday last, debarring any officer of the army and navy from seeking advancement by means of "recommendation or support" from sources outside of the

military or naval service, commendable as it is, is not a new departure. In November, 1901, the President declared the merit rule established in the army by one of those unofficial utterances which have played such an interesting part in his Administration. Lest any should be misled by the informal character of this statement, he followed it up a month later by a declaration in his annual message to Congress, which reads as follows:

"Every promotion and every detail under the War Department must be made solely with regard to the good of the service, and to the capacity and merit of the man himself. No pressure, political, social, or personal, of any kind will be permitted to exercise the least effect on any question of promotion or detail; and if there is reason to believe that such pressure is exercised at the instigation of the officer concerned, it will be held to militate against him."

A comparison of this proclamation, which was acclaimed by all interested in an army badly debauched by the politics of the McKinley-Alger régime, with the President's latest order, shows that their purport is identical. The declaration of 1901 never was effective. Some officers tried to honor it; some known to us went to the War Department and applied for details without the influence of Senators and Representatives, only to find themselves laughed at by their friends on duty in the Department, and to see the coveted positions dispensed in the same old way; while the award of generalcies has been almost as injudicious and as indefensible as under McKinley. The result has been that the army is, in respect of politics and favoritism, in as bad a state of demoralization as at any time in its history.

Under a new interpretation of the Roosevelt Personnel Law recently made by Attorney-General Moody, no less than fifty-five navy officers, all in the best of health, were retired on their own application on Thursday. It will be remembered that this law was designed to increase the flow of promotion by making a certain number of vacancies in the various grades imperative annually. If deaths and disability or voluntary retirements did not fulfil this number, then a board of rear-admirals retired a certain number of officers of the rank of lieutenant. Mr. Moody read into the law a new meaning—which must have surprised the Congressmen who passed the bill—with the result that fifty-five vacancies in the grade of captain, commander, and lieutenant-commander have been created, each retiring officer receiving the next higher rank on going out, and three-quarters pay of his new grade. Now this will, of course, please the big-navy boomers, who have been pointing out

that the Japanese captains are much younger than our own, but it is a new departure for us to create a corps of pensioners, able-bodied, and nearly all in condition to enter business life. For instance, the thirty-eight lieutenant-commanders retired are between the ages of forty-one and forty-nine, presumably; therefore, at the maximum of their physical and mental ability. The United States is now to lose their services and pay them about \$2,250 a year for the remainder of their natural lives. In some cases, under recent law, they will be reemployed with full pay in what is practically active service. But the point is, that we are now following England's example in supporting a leisured class of comparatively young men, who have in some cases served their country only about twenty-five years.

Chairman Shonts of the Panama Canal Commission makes the welcome announcement that haste is hereafter to be made slowly on the Isthmus. Although the statistics of illness which he gives are much less serious than had been expected, and are hardly to be reconciled with the cabled reports, he none the less admits that the actual work of digging must, to a certain extent at least, give way to the sanitation of the canal zone and an improvement in the living conditions of the laborers. The latter are to have better and more hygienic homes, quicker transportation, and more time for recreation, even though considerably less dirt may fly in consequence. All this is very good news to those who wish to see the canal built in the best way possible. But where does it leave those responsible for the work on the canal, from the President down, since it was stolen from Colombia? It is the plainest proof possible that here is a case where the men who "do things" have blundered badly. Going ahead in our efficient American way is all very well, but the man who really accomplishes results surveys his field first and makes all his plans before digging away. The trouble was that the President wanted to show progress at the same time that the work of sanitation and preparation was going on and before the final plans had been adopted. Probably in the end it will be found that the headlong haste of the past year will necessitate a longer period for the completion of the canal than if the whole available force had been used in the work of cleaning up and constructing the necessary barracks, etc.

"Recommended to the mercy of the court," was the addition to its verdict of guilty made by the jury which convicted



Senator Mitchell of Oregon of performing services for a client from which he was debarred by virtue of his office. This may serve to save the aged Senator from going to jail, and may result in his being punished merely by a fine. Undoubtedly there will be great sympathy for Mr. Mitchell in Washington. He merely did what dozens of other Senators and Congressmen are doing all the time. It is a pity that in this case the conviction was secured on what is rather a technical point instead of on the direct issue of fact as to whether Senator Mitchell was or was not one of the land thieves Secretary Hitchcock is prosecuting so relentlessly. None the less the conviction will do a vast amount of good, besides making a dozen or more Senators tremble in their shoes lest the public have further reasons for seeing in the Senate a resort for law-breakers as well as a "rich man's club." The spectacle of two of their kind, Burton and Mitchell, actually convicted will cause people to rejoice the country over that grafters in high political places are being caught up with. Furthermore, Mitchell's trial has given most valuable insight into the minds of such as he. It has been impossible to convince him that he did wrong; the whole trouble was that Secretary Hitchcock had a grudge of some kind against him and that his law partner betrayed him.

No one will blame Gov. Hoch of Kansas for expressing his keen disappointment at the judicial wrecking of the plans for a State refinery to fight the Standard Oil. He will even have sympathy when he says that, if he had been the Supreme Court, things would have turned out very differently. "If it is not Constitutional," he says with feeling, "it ought to be." The country at large will have to stifle its regret at not seeing the outcome of the great campaign in which the octopus was to be starved to death. One of the mistakes of the framers of the law now set aside was that they dwelt too much on its oil-refinery features, and too little on its penitentiary features. This was seen from the very first, however, to be one of the essential weaknesses of the scheme. In order to be legal, the work of refining oil had to be done by convicts. Thus, as fast as the output of oil increased, the demand would inevitably arise for more prisoners. It would never have been possible to expel the Trust entirely except by inciting an epidemic of crime or else putting a large number of innocent men in durance. This thought may provide a little consolation for Kansas in these hours of bitterness.

Senator Depew's testimony before the State Superintendent of Insurance is a most fearful writing of himself down—not, as he himself put it, "a fool," but

something more noxious. His account of how he earned his retainer of \$20,000 a year was not even "genial"; it was incredibly impudent. He says that he "freely gave advice," though he has done that on all subjects, gratuitously, for these many years; shyly admits that he is "a master of corporation law," but puts us on the right track by stating that the money was paid him on account of "the position I had at the bar and generally." Everybody knows what is covered up by that word "generally." Mr. Depew was the most successful lobbyist of his day. He had an enormous political pull, and the Equitable management paid him for it just as they paid David B. Hill for his. Calling it a "retainer" deceives no one. What was bought, and what Mr. Depew sold, clearly appears in his own evidence. The Equitable loaned \$250,000 to the Depew Improvement Company. A rash appraiser of the State Insurance Department thereupon fixed the value of the property covered by the loan at only \$150,000. Then Mr. Depew was appealed to. What was he thinking of to let a Republican official give an Equitable loan such a black eye? So he "wrote a letter" to the Insurance Department asking for a reappraisal. Clearly, that is the kind of thing the Equitable hired him for. And he was not ungrateful. He was responsible for raising young Hyde's salary to \$100,000—partly out of "sentiment," he admitted. And when the company got nervous about the loan to the Depew Improvement Company, he genially guaranteed them against loss. Asked whether that guarantee fixed any liability upon him, he blandly replied: "As a lawyer, I don't think so, and I am informed by the counsel of the receiver that it does not."

John C. Bowdoin has just been convicted in the United States Court of Alabama for holding Raymond Rhoda in peonage. Both the men are white. Therein lies the great significance of the case. It disposes at once of the contention of Senator Bacon, in his argument before the Supreme Court, that the peonage prosecutions were simply part of a policy of race provocation. But here is a white man convicted of holding a white man to servitude, and it is said that it will not long remain the only case of the kind, since the United States District Attorney will prosecute, at the next term of the court, several other white men for holding white men in peonage. Hence it is clear that the law is impartially enforced. It is clear, also, that those patriotic Southern friends and champions of the negro are right who maintain that oppression of the black man is certain to be followed by oppression of the white. Suppressing the negro vote is only a preliminary to stealing elections from the

white voters. It is but a step from holding colored men to involuntary labor to doing the same thing for whites. The spectacle of Bowdoin spending a year in jail for the crime of forcing a white man into peonage should be most salutary.

Judge Henry C. Hammond of the Superior Court of Georgia delivered a remarkable address before the Aiken, S. C., Law and Order League on the Fourth of July, in which he vigorously assailed the American habit of carrying pistols, and paid his respects to lynchers. "The concealed pistol," he said, "is strictly an Americanism" which leads "to man-slaying, to social disorder, and national disgrace." He admitted that there was no State in which this vicious practice was more common than in South Carolina, and that it was sufficient defence there for a murderer to assert that his victim put his hand on his hip-pocket. But he rightly dwelt upon the recent restraining laws passed by South Carolina as a very encouraging sign of progress. He declared also that the situation warranted "an amendment of the Constitution, the imposition of a prohibitive license on the manufacture and sale of pistols, or any other step that can drive them from off the earth." On the lynching question the Judge was equally sound, dwelling on the fact that, of the negroes lynched, only a small minority had offended against white women. Judge Hammond deserves the highest praise for saying also that "if we as a people are to survive in the tide of time, we must solve the race question by means of the intellect, not the passions; by justice, not injustice; by righteousness, not sin." We wish that these words might be put into the hands of every Southern juror, editor, and preacher.

Perhaps the most interesting fact regarding last week's announcement of a new \$150,000,000 loan to be raised by Japan is the participation of Germany in bringing it out. At the outset of the war, German opinion expressed itself as unfavorably to Japanese credit as to the chances of Japanese victory over Russia. Change of sentiment in the one direction has brought change in the other. When the \$150,000,000 Japanese loan of last March was in contemplation, Port Arthur had fallen, Kurapatkin's defeat was near at hand, and the Berlin bankers then first applied for the privilege of floating a Japanese loan. It was refused to them, although, according to general belief, their bid was higher than that of the Anglo-American syndicate to which the issue was awarded. This time, Berlin is permitted to have a share. The incident throws a curious light upon the relations of finance and diplomacy. In particular, it brings up a very odd question, which frequently



arises in these days of keen search by capital for high-grade investment—whether a Government which applies for a loan is asking a favor or conferring one. The answer would depend on circumstances. Bankers are not, for instance, scrambling for the privilege of underwriting new Russian loans, and our own Government had to visit the money market hat in hand during 1894. To some extent, this difference may be caused by the relative dearth or cheapness of the offered loan, as measured by its issue price. There has probably never been a more singular instance of a demand by investors to be allowed to lend than that of 1895, when China issued her loan to pay for the \$140,000,000 war indemnity to Japan. The foreign offices of the various European States literally constituted themselves advocates of the special claims to subscription rights which the bankers of their respective countries professed. The dispute over the right to lend to China became fairly acrimonious. In the end it was necessary to divide the loan between England, Germany, France, and Russia.

In the seizure of Saghalien Island, Japan gains by right of conquest what she might have had to pay for under the peace settlement, and also scores the technical advantage of holding a portion of the enemy's territory before the treaty is negotiated. Of course, repeated acts of this kind while the plenipotentiaries are actually en route for Washington would seriously prejudice the whole affair; it is difficult to bargain when every day's dispatches may change the conditions of the transactions. On the other hand, the taking of Saghalien is on a different plane from, say, a general advance in Manchuria. Since the defeat of Rozhdestvensky the island has lain virtually defenceless, and its occupation by the Japanese was certain. Accordingly, its seizure now may fairly count merely as the clearing up of an arrearage, by making the fact of occupation correspond to a long-standing potentiality, and the affair should not necessarily interfere with the peace preliminaries. It does, however, point to the need of an armistice and to the awkwardness of treating for peace while hostilities are in progress.

The passing of the separation bill in France has been so much a matter of course that it will excite rather little interest, and even churchmen will accept the decision with relative equanimity, seeing that the Senate may not find it convenient this session to confirm the Chamber's action. Of the bill itself one may only say that it is more liberal than the preliminary discussion might have indicated. Throughout the debates, such veteran Radicals as Ribot have constant-

ly held before the Chamber the danger of letting regulation of the Church run into oppression; and if these counsels of moderation have had rather little effect on the actual form of the law, they have at least reduced the bitterness of the agitation. The temper of the country on the whole matter has considerably changed, by as much, perhaps, as M. Rouvier's anti-clericalism is at once more perfunctory and more humane than M. Combes's. In the bill as passed, a considerable concession to the vested rights of the churches has been made in pensioning all stipendiary priests under the Concordat. In fact, enlightened Catholics can have but little just grievance against the form of separation except that the tenure of church buildings, which henceforth are to be let to religious societies only on short and terminable leases, becomes insecure, and that illiberal restrictions are put upon the accumulation of parish reserves and endowments. M. Rouvier and M. Briand, the sponsor of the bill, deserve some credit for keeping the measure well this side of persecution.

It was, to say the least, a most discourteous act for the German Chancellor to forbid M. Jaurès to speak in Berlin. The great Socialist orator was to have spoken, on the invitation of the Social Democrats, about the Moroccan dispute. It should be recalled that Jaurès has always advocated peaceful relations with Germany, that he has deprecated the sentiment of revenge for Alsace-Lorraine, and, in particular, that he was the severest critic of M. Delcassé's exclusive policy in the Mediterranean. In short, if Prince Bülow wanted a learned and moderate advocate of his policy of a general diplomatic understanding with France, he could hardly have chosen a better one than Jaurès. One may note, too, that M. Jaurès is one of the most potent Parliamentary figures in France, and that a refusal to hear him will, in the opinion of all moderate Socialists in France, amount very nearly to a national affront. Of course, Prince Bülow's note abounds in expressions of confidence and admiration, and bases the responsibility for his action, not upon any doubt of M. Jaurès's tact, but upon just suspicion of the German Social Democrats. In other words, the exclusion is a kind of oecumenical rebuke to international Socialism in the person of its distinguished representative.

What Germany gains by the adjustment of the Moroccan dispute is chiefly recognition of her standing in European councils. It is unlikely that the international conference which is to be called at Fez will result in any essential change. Europe collectively is by no means anxious to take charge of the African hornets' nest. Control by the

European Concert will in the nature of the case be exercised by a delegate, and since England and Spain have already selected France for that duty, and Germany even, by the recent compromise, has admitted the especial interest of France in the premises, there can be but little doubt that the conference will end with France more completely entrenched than ever—as the mandatory of the Powers. Nothing that has been published on the matter fully explains Germany's readiness to go to the brink of war for so slight a matter. It can hardly be believed, for example, that so hazardous a tension was incurred merely on the off chance that a conference might reduce the pretensions of France and some way favor the ulterior ambitions of Germany. And if Germany has pushed the mere punctilio of recognition as a Mediterranean Power to the danger point, it would be a strange departure from her traditionally cautious diplomacy. The cause of German resentment must probably be sought deeper in some definite slight from M. Delcassé, the nature of which has not yet been divulged. As for the actual settlement with France, it is thrice welcome because it ends a most perilous much ado about nothing. Who is the gainer it would be difficult to say. Germany evidently saves her Imperial pride, but France supplies the unction at slight expense, since it is pretty certain that she can control the vote of the Fez Conference in favor of the Anglo-French Agreement.

The elections in Holland which led to the resignation of Prime Minister Kuyper resulted in a complete deadlock. The Liberals have a slight majority in the Chamber, but the Senate is strongly Clerical. Although the Social Democrats have not added to the small number of seats they held, they practically retain the balance of power, not only in the Chamber, but in the country. In Holland a majority is necessary to an election. If it is not secured by any candidate, there is a new contest between the two having the highest number of votes. In the elections of the 18th of June not more than twenty-five Liberals were elected, as against forty-six Ministerialists. The Social Democratic party had an independent candidate in nearly every district. In almost every case the second election was between a Liberal and a Clerical, and the uniform success of the former was due to the fact that the solid vote of the Social Democrats went to the Liberals. Perhaps the most important result of the election is that the danger of a return to protection, which was part of the Kuyper programme, has been averted. The great commercial and manufacturing cities have spoken with no uncertain sound in favor of the free-trade policy.

## THE DISSOLVING CABINET.

Secretary Hay's lamented death has served to give the people a rather uncomfortable perception of the state of flux and comparative feebleness to which President Roosevelt's Cabinet has been brought. It would be unfair to say that it rivals the famous "Who-Who" Ministry for its unknown or negligible names; but one cannot but reflect on the great losses and the small gains. Attorney-General Moody has been well thought of for both character and ability, but he, too, is shortly to go. Taft undeniably carries weight. Secretary Shaw is not precisely an extinct volcano, but the lava of deficits and their deficient explanation is thick upon him, and he also is to retire. Of Metcalf and Cortelyou and Bonaparte, it is to be said that they have their reputations all to make in their respective departments. In a word, the Roosevelt Cabinet has to-day an unhappy resemblance to the Balfour Cabinet—it has lost its ablest members, and is making shift to get on with untried men who do not, at a glance, command the confidence of the country.

The importance of "the President's advisers" is peculiarly seen just now. That phrase is often used in a perfunctory sense. It may be true that most Presidents are "advised" to do just what they want to. One detects something too much of this in the advice given President Roosevelt. But if he is the docile, open-minded and easily persuaded gentleman that Messrs. Root and Hay pictured him in their campaign apologia for him, it is highly desirable that his official family should be able and willing to instruct him in law and policies; while, if he is perhaps a trifle too quick on the trigger, a restraining hand would be even more useful. In a word, without disrespect to the President, the country would wish to see him surrounded with abler and stancher advisers than those who at present sit at the Cabinet table.

It is a very marked and positive quality of advice which a President of Mr. Roosevelt's temperament requires. Too often consultation between chief and Secretaries resembles the small boy's throwing of a ball against a brick wall. His opinions are simply flung back at him. And too many advisers are of the cynical mood of Goethe in saying that he was always ready to give advice, since he knew it would never be taken. A more vigorous and even fighting type of advice is what is needed on the part of Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet. He has to pass upon vast and intricate questions, involving law and Constitution and international relations, and ought to have at his elbow men who will point out to him the pitfalls lurking for unwary feet. And they should be men prepared to stand or fall by their convictions. They alone can make their influence truly

felt, and magnify their office up to the real measure of its power and responsibility. It is well known in Washington, for example, that Mr. Roosevelt was once led to withdraw from a hasty course upon the stout protest of one of his Secretaries that the latter's resignation would promptly follow, with a public explanation of its reasons, unless the President reconsidered his first decision. We think that the real importance of the Cabinet in our system has been clouded of late. A tradition of "loyalty" to the President has grown up, which too much tends to degrade the Secretaries into echoes and adulators. But the truest loyalty of a Cabinet member lies in giving his chief unflinchingly both advice and frequent doses of what it is so hard for President or Czar ever to hear—to say nothing of acting upon it—the plain truth.

One temptation which may assail a man invited by the President to take a seat in the Cabinet he should resolutely beat off. We mean the temptation to think of the office as a stepping-stone to the gratification of political ambition. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet has come to be a poor nursing-mother of Presidents—nearly as much so as the Senate. Time was when the succession from the Department of State to the Presidency was almost established. We have changed all that. For forty-five years, no President has been taken from the Cabinet. Even Mr. Blaine could not break this latter-day precedent. It is said that Mr. Root thinks of attempting to do so—that he gave his assent to becoming Secretary of State upon a tacit understanding that he should be made party candidate for the Presidency in 1908. Supposing this to be true, it would be a mistake in every aspect. If Mr. Root, with his unquestioned ability, were to assume the State Department purely as a public service, with every thought of political reward not only put aside, but explicitly disavowed, his appointment would be hailed as one of high promise. On the contrary, if he were to sacrifice his profitable corporation practice solely out of ambition to become President *via* the Department of State, the result would be bad both for him and for the country. His taking office again would be robbed of that appearance of high disinterestedness which alone could dignify his course; while his acknowledged Presidential candidacy would awaken the gravest suspicions as to the kind of influence he would depend upon for success. Possibly, however, just as the President wanted a man in his Cabinet to explain to him the iniquity of railway rebates by experience and personal practice, so he may now, in his further plans for attacking wicked corporations, desire to have by him a counsellor expert in all their guile.

Mr. Root's acceptance of the State De-

partment will at least make us consider our mercies. Loomis might have been promoted, we might have had Lodge. The new Secretary has ability of the highest order. Moreover, he must be aware that he will be looked to as a steadying force in an Administration too much blown about by every wind of doctrine.

## THE DIPLOMACY WE NEED.

In many of the comments on the filling of Secretary Hay's office, there appears a vague and uneasy feeling that somehow American diplomacy must now enter upon a new phase and be of a new sort. Washington's advice on the conduct of foreign relations was well enough in its place, but Washington has been dead a very long time. The living present demands a thoroughly live and up-to-date diplomacy. The ancient ways of a home-keeping republic are made uncouth when practised by a self-conscious world-power. So runs the argument.

Now if this means only that the Secretary of State should be a man of large mould and fine capacity, we heartily agree. His post is one to employ the most substantial powers. It offers a high opportunity for patriotic service. The best men we have are none too good for the Department of State. But this is no new discovery. Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Marcy, Seward—such names suggest that even the dull generations which are gone had some faint idea that the Secretary of State might advantageously be a man of the ripest abilities. What is really implied, we fear, in the current talk about the need of a new American diplomacy is that the old was too slow, too scrupulous, too tenacious of good faith, to suit these rapid and resounding days. What seems to be wanted by many is a combination of the devilish sly and the recklessly daring.

It cannot, however, be too firmly and insistently borne in upon us all that the great qualities of the diplomat remain unchanged from age to age. Endow him with natural sagacity; assign him due discretion; enrich him with ample knowledge of the past and such a grasp of principles as will render him prescient of the future; then make him expert in the mere technique of his work, add to him a truly patriotic purpose, frank and clear truthfulness, and give him a steady and matured policy, and you have the sort of man to administer the State Department at any time or under any Administration. The fallacy of novelty should not entrap us in these matters. It is easy for us to think that our situation is something never before seen in the world's history, and therefore that it demands unprecedented methods of treatment. But in reality the possibilities of the political plot are about as limited as those of the dra-



matic, and about as much exhausted. In diplomacy, at all events, each new case simply calls for a fresh application of the old principles; and stainless honor, good faith, considerateness, and a careful observance of the law of nations are as much the armor of the diplomat to-day as they were in Washington's time.

We ought to dread rather than welcome the invention of novel shibboleths in our foreign relations. Mr. Hay himself was not altogether happy in proclaiming that the watchwords of American diplomacy are simply the Golden Rule and the Monroe Doctrine. Looked at close, this means the Golden Rule except in those cases where it is our interest to ignore or defy it. A good part of Secretary Hay's work consisted in protesting against Russia's doing unto us as we were doing to other nations. A Monroe Doctrine in Manchuria we can at once see to be in glaring contradiction to the Golden Rule; but other Powers see it as clearly in South America. Another thing which every far-sighted Secretary of State will avoid is the construction of "corollaries" to the Monroe Doctrine. Too many of them have been produced in recent years, as out of Pandora's box. Let the Department of State stick to the main theorem, if it must, and shun every suggested "corollary" as it would the plague.

Manner counts immensely in diplomacy; and it is of the highest importance that our foreign affairs should be conducted as between gentlemen. Of course, the more brutal offences of the "shirt-sleeves" epoch will not now be repeated, but a better-mannered period has its temptations. It may not rant or hector, but can easily be fussy, meddlesome, restlessly and needlessly active. In the debate on a Queen's Speech in the 50's, Lord Stanley raised a laugh at Palmerston's expense by affirming that the "increased tranquillity," of which the Government boasted, was due to the "increased inactivity of the Foreign Secretary." Diplomacy is, in fact, often most masterly when most inactive. To let things alone may well be the main resolve of a Secretary called to office at a time of great ferment and running after every new thing. And he will be wise also to steer clear of that "spend-thrift verbosity" which Lowell found in so many of Seward's dispatches—that introduction of "paper money into diplomacy," which "bewildered Earl Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys with a horrible doubt as to the real value of the verbal currency they were obliged to receive."

But it is policy, after all, which dwarfs or determines all the rest; and it is the policy of our Government, in the great questions confronting it, which it is the most pressing business of the State Department to fix. Our indefiniteness is the greatest cause of com-

plaint against us by foreigners in the whole matter of our position in the Orient. "What do you want? What are you going to do?" Those are the questions which they most eagerly ask. They perceive that we talk loudly, but are unable to make out our real meaning. And they cannot understand when they are told that neither our people nor our Government have yet worked out convictions or marked out a policy in all that business. It is a problem to which our diplomacy must immediately attend. We should at once put it beyond all doubt that we have no thought in the East except of peace, no desire for a foot of territory, no interest except equality of trade opportunities.

#### THE COTTON REPORT SCANDAL.

The nature of the scandal which has just been exposed in the Agricultural Department should fix attention upon the system which made it possible. Among the numerous indefinite and superfluous duties entrusted to that department of the Government, there is one task of great importance—the canvassing of the agricultural districts so as to obtain, each month, as accurate an idea as possible of the acreage, condition, and promise of the growing crops, and the publishing of this information in such shape as can best be understood by the general public. The reason for the work is plain enough. The farmer's management of his business depends very largely upon the size of the crop in the country as a whole. If, in the early planting season, he learns that an exceptionally great amount of land is being sown to one crop, he will be more likely to diversify his own. If he knows, in spring-time, that the country's winter-sown wheat is threatened with failure through bad weather, he will naturally devote particular attention to planting "spring wheat" for himself. At harvest time he can discover what his crop is really worth in market only through knowledge of the country's total production, as compared with other years.

The monthly estimates of the Department's statistical bureau, therefore, are primarily a safeguard to the farmer. They were all the more necessary for this purpose because firms with speculative connections in the markets had adopted a similar plan in their own behalf. Naturally, these "private estimates" were more or less open to suspicion because of such connections. Hence, as the brokers of the Produce and Cotton Exchanges enlarged and perfected their services, the Government was compelled to do the same. A dozen years ago most of the information on which the Department's monthly crop reports were based was gleaned from the farmers' gossip of country post-offices, and transmitted through the post-

masters. This source of intelligence proving inadequate and frequently incorrect, larger appropriations were made for the Department, and it established a system of "township correspondents," "county correspondents," and "special field agents," embracing many thousands of experts, largely in the Government's pay. From their returns the monthly crop reports are compiled. They comprise, as published, an early estimate of acreage planted; a statement at the first of each month of the exact percentage of a perfect or average condition which would show the crop's status at the moment; and, at the season's end, an estimate of the crop as actually harvested.

These monthly estimates at once become of even more interest to the speculative markets than to the farmer himself. If the Government's July "condition estimate" on wheat, for instance, shows a heavy decline from that of June, the Produce Exchange buys wheat. On Monday week, when the cotton trade had been expecting a higher "condition percentage" on its staple than was shown a month before, the Government figure reported a slight decline, and the result was a rise of \$5 per bale on bidding by the speculators. The motive of speculators, under such circumstances, in getting, if they can, an advance "tip" on the Government's figures, is obvious. The report on the "cotton leak," given out on Saturday by the Secretary of Agriculture, proves that such advance information has been sold to speculators by at least one high official in the Department's statistical bureau.

The question naturally suggested by this development is, how such "leaks" can ever be prevented. It has been declared repeatedly, by the heads of the Department, that they had already been rendered impossible. Secretary Wilson himself wrote to a Senate investigator, three years ago:

"The position of the Department is absolutely unassailable, since, with regard to the more important crops, no approach to a definite estimate can possibly be made until within one or two hours of the time fixed for its publication."

Mr. Hyde, the chief statistician, who is not alleged to have been in any way connected with the scandal, has given out similar assurances. Both based their confidence on belief that the estimates from the several States were not brought together until the day when the full report was to be compiled and published. The result of the pending investigation proves that the Secretary and his statistical lieutenant were living in a fool's paradise; that, under their very noses, and at the moment when they were reiterating assurances that a "leak" was impossible, the associate statistician, Holmes, was opening field returns in advance of the day for the report, making his own compilation, telegraph-



ing results to New York speculators, and in some cases, it would seem, actually tampering with the figures.

The first conclusion which will be drawn from this revelation is that Holmes's superior officers have been neglecting their duties. Holmes did his work in the most bungling way imaginable, and was manifestly allowed free scope, without adequate surveillance, at the very time when the good faith of the Department's estimates was most seriously questioned. The next and equally obvious conclusion is that the methods of compiling the reports must be reformed, in the direction of absolutely safeguarding their secrecy. Secretary Wilson has issued an order—very belated, all things considered—in which he requires that important field reports shall be sent to him personally, and shall be kept by him sealed and in his safe until the day for their compilation. Precautions like these are absolutely necessary; but it is imperative also that the investigation which has unearthed Holmes, should be continued. A question of very considerable importance is whether the Government's own field agents have allowed themselves to provide duplicate information to the speculators. The suggestion, made in some quarters, that detailed estimates be abandoned and the Department's reports confined to general information as to the state of things, is more doubtful. It must be remembered that, if the Government were to abandon "condition estimates," it would leave the field to the "special experts" who have turned out as a rule, in past years, to have been merely clever agents of the speculators.

#### THE PUBLIC AND THE EXPRESS COMPANIES.

Every shipper of goods, on however small a scale, is constantly being called upon to decide the question, "Shall I send this parcel by express or freight?" In every-day life these, with the post-office, appear in the rôle of competitors for private custom, one offering cheapness to offset the other's quickness and convenience. It is, therefore, remarkable that at a time when the fairness of freight rates as fixed by private agencies has furnished one of the chief topics of political discussion, so little interest should be taken in the express service. In the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Prof. Frank Haigh Dixon brings together, as he says, "such information as can be gathered from existing sources" regarding the express business. The most striking thing about this compilation is the extraordinary meagreness of the data now available.

"Nothing is known of the amount of money invested in the business, or of the expense of conducting it," says Mr. Dixon. "Only in a few individual instances, under pressure from investigating bodies, have the contracts with the railways been made public. We know that under their con-

tracts the express companies paid the railway companies for the year ending June 30, 1903, over \$38,000,000, which represented from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. of their gross earnings; but this is the sum total of our information."

As to rates, a principle of grouping is known to prevail, based largely on the hundred-pound unit, with a higher charge for especially valuable traffic, arbitrary schedules in certain instances, and in some quarters, especially in the East, an adaptation to meet the competition of the post-office. "These few facts," it is summed up, "give us no basis for judging of the method of computation of rates or of the reasonableness of express charges, either in themselves or in comparison with other lines of service." The surprising fact has been brought out in Government hearings that the companies themselves, in most cases, keep no accurate statistics as to the nature of their traffic; the failure to tabulate such information being explained on the ground that most of the contracts with the railways are based on the gross earnings or space occupied, instead of traffic handled.

It is hardly necessary to point out the contrast between this state of affairs and that which prevails regarding freight rates. The shipper pays about four times as much for the package delivered at the door in a neatly painted wagon by a man in uniform as for that dumped in the freight house by a man in shirt-sleeves. Yet the two have been carried over the same tracks, in cars owned by the same company. In the one case the carrier is compelled to publish the essential facts about its traffic and earnings; in the other, it makes no report to any authority whatever. The express company, in a word, "is being permitted to derive all the advantages of a common carrier, and to assume none of its obligations."

The Interstate Commerce Commission, at its organization, included the express companies among the common carriers required to file their tariffs, but, after strenuous objection from the companies, waived this point, largely on the ground that the intent of the law was not to embrace independent companies having only a contractual relation to the railroads. Since then the Commission has repeatedly asked definite authority to obtain such reports, but Congress has never granted it.

This matter is given increasing importance by the fact that the alliance between the railroads and the express companies is becoming closer. The railroads, whose traffic and rates are under supervision by public authorities, seem to be turning over certain lines of traffic to the express companies, whose charges are unrestricted. This is especially true of perishable commodities which demand speedy delivery. "There is no indication," says Mr. Dixon, "that the railways, except in the products of the packing and fruit industries, in which they

have been prodded by the private-car owners, have any intention of developing this traffic and displacing the express service. Yet it is difficult to determine whether the railways are doing their full duty, without having some definite information regarding express traffic."

The community of interest between railroad and express company is shown by the impressive list of railway representatives on express-company directorates, and the corresponding array of express officials on the railway boards. Evidence of reciprocal ownership of stocks is also available, as well as proof that the companies hold one another's stock in considerable quantities. As to the purely nominal character of their competition, President Ingalls of the Big Four testified before the Industrial Commission that the express companies "manage their own business by making agreements. I should be sorry to have them put on the same basis as railroads, so they could not agree."

Certainly, the various reasons put forward for exempting the express business from Government supervision or compulsory publicity cease to have any force if the express company is to be merely the railroad itself under another guise. The reviewing of railroad rates—whether power of arbitrary charge goes with it or not—becomes a travesty if the railroad can deliberately turn over any portion of its traffic to the express company, which can charge whatever it pleases. And, similarly, the prohibition of direct combination between railroads can hardly be enforced if through these same express companies they can pool certain classes of traffic as they please.

#### GERMAN PHILOSOPHY IN RUSSIA.

To a critic who once complained that he found traces of Feuerbach's philosophy in the writings of William Black, the novelist replied that he had never heard of Feuerbach. However extravagant in this case the critic's supposition may have been, it is doubtless true that most writers unconsciously reflect in their work the prevailing philosophy. Philosophical ideas are like fashions which originate in the great world, and are afterwards imitated in little by all classes and conditions. They are like water poured upon the ground which finds lodgment in obscure places and at unexpected levels.

During the last one hundred years some such process of infiltration has been going on in Russia. When the history of the period from the reign of Nicholas I. to the present time is written, something will have to be said of a group of enthusiasts who were among the first to inject into the Russian mind the principles of Western philosophy. About the year 1835 the philosophy of Hegel was imported from Germany by the Muscovite Stankevitch. Previous to

that time the old Byzantine ideas had been dominant. It is true that a small minority had read with curiosity, but without fervor, the French philosophers of the eighteenth century; but the correspondence between Voltaire and Catherine II. shows how little impression had been made. The only radical opinions noticed in these letters had reference to the subject of religious tolerance; political abuses and agitation are almost unnoticed.

During the reactionary reign of Nicholas I. a few minds were attracted by the abstract and mystical philosophy of Schelling, which, however, had no political implications. It was only after the death of Hegel that germs of Occidental thought were planted in Russian soil, that were gradually to have important political results. At that time there were in Russia two opposing schools or parties. According to one, progress and higher civilization were indigenous, and the nation had to work out its own salvation. The other held that the ideal for Russia could be realized only by grafting upon the parent growth something foreign. The Hegelian propaganda found a chosen few hospitably inclined to the principles of German philosophy. From them proceeded, however, that tendency towards anarchy and nihilism which has had such profound and sometimes tragic results. At first sight, it seems strange that radical political consequences should have been deduced from such a system of thought; for the Hegelian philosophy, by its theological conservatism and its defence of monarchical institutions, has been regarded as a bulwark of the Prussian state. Yet its dialectical method of reconciling contradictions, through a higher unity, made three interpretations possible, represented by a Right, Centre, and Left. The last of these found advocates in Russia as well as in Germany.

The philosophical clubs of Moscow, in the period referred to, were one of the manifestations of a restless and often vicious society; but it soon became the fashion to discuss in all places and at all times the most obscure questions of the Absolute philosophy. This tendency found but little encouragement at the universities, where, during the reign of Nicholas I., students were admitted only by special favor of the Government. Yet German professors were beginning to be called to Moscow, and formed a nucleus for this life of discussion and fermentation. In the beginning the clubs were not seditious, but were instrumental in laying down the principles which have ever since guided the propaganda of anarchy. The interest of Stankevitch in German thought was chiefly abstract and metaphysical, but among his followers in the "Occidental" society it was far otherwise. The conservative Hegelianism which they received from the West,

they soon exchanged for the ideas of the Hegelian Left, and passed from the vague idealism of the 'Encyclopædia' to atheism, materialism, and revolution.

It was not by Stankevitch nor even by his accomplished disciple Belinski, who was a critic rather than a philosopher, that Hegelianism was interpreted as a revolutionary doctrine. The most famous name in this circle is that of Bakunin. One thinks of him as a mad political fanatic rather than as a propagator of German doctrines; yet it was in the latter capacity that he first made his impression upon Russian society. Even where the members of the revolutionary clubs departed from the letter of Hegel's philosophy, they adhered to its spirit. If, on the one hand, they preached an extreme individualism—a counterpart of the Hegelian idea of self-realization—on the other, they had that broad view of nature and history which takes no account of the accidents of nationality and government. The inconsistencies, the hardships, and misfortunes of the world were neglected, because they had before them a political ideal which at any risk they sought to realize. Their radical conceptions may be said to have created anarchism as an anti-political theory, and as a system of practical ethics. For since the time when Bakunin left the army to expound Hegel to the young men of his group, his personality and teaching have been the inspiration of all anarchistic plots and nihilistic adventures. To him, more than to any other, the anarchists owe especially that atmosphere of romantic mysticism which has given them the character of a religious sect as well as of a political party. From this same coterie came also Ogareff and Herzen, brothers in misfortune, both originally idealists and mystics, steeped in the sentiments and theories of Schelling and of Hegel. They passed inevitably to the Hegelian Left—to its atheism and materialism.

It need not be added that this striking group of men were not suffered to carry on their propaganda without police interference. Some found a refuge in France and met congenial spirits among the followers of St. Simon and Proudhon; some were forced to give up their life at Moscow and retire to the southeastern provinces; some were sent to Siberia. It is interesting to notice that in so far as they were practical in envisaging politics, they fixed their hopes upon the communal organization of Russia. They rejoiced to see the day of the Zemstvo agitation; they saw it and were glad.

#### THE POPE TO THE ITALIAN BISHOPS.

Pius X.'s Pentecostal address to the bishops of Italy has been variously interpreted. Perhaps it may best be read in the light of the recent municipal elections at Rome, in which the Cleri-

cals united with Monarchists and Conservatives of all complexions and gave the Socialists a crushing defeat. Evidently, the pastoral letter of the Liberal Bishop of Cremona, urging the faithful to take part in local elections, must also be regarded as a practical application of the principles of the Holy See to the affairs of a single diocese. To be sure, it is no new thing for Italian Catholics to vote in municipal and provincial elections. The ban pronounced against the Kingdom of Italy by Pius IX. in the bull *Non expedit* simply forbade the sons of the Church to participate in Parliamentary elections. Local and municipal institutions preceded the siege of Rome, and have never been specifically under Papal reprehension. Practically, however, the devout have quite held aloof from the present régime, voting only when some matter of imperative interest was at issue. Particularly has this been the case at Rome, where the form of the imprisonment of the Pope and of the irreconcilable feud with the usurping house of Savoy has been rigidly maintained. Accordingly, it is a significant innovation when, at Rome, the partisans of the Pope-King vote side by side with those of Victor Emmanuel III.

Not unnaturally, the Italian newspapers have leaped to the conclusion that the *Non expedit* is a dead letter, and that the contention between the Vatican and Quirinal is in a way of solution. An examination of what the Pope actually said hardly warrants so optimistic a reading. His Holiness, speaking of the ban upon political activity by Catholics, observed: "Nevertheless, other reasons equally grave, founded on the highest good of society, which it is our duty to preserve at all costs, may require that, in particular cases, this law should be overlooked, especially when your venerable brothers [the bishops of Italy] recognize the strict necessity of the case for the good of the souls in your charge and the highest interests of your churches, and when you ask for it." Interpreted literally, this is not a peace measure. It merely admits exceptional cases in which believers may vote, and makes—and the point is important—not the individual Catholic, but his bishop, the judge of such necessity. Like many other Papal inventions, it is retroactive; in a sense it merely regularizes the pact, frequent in the last general elections, between Catholics and other conservative voters against the Socialists. The Pope simply admits in principle what has already been done in practice. On the other hand, one can readily conceive a process by which exceptional toleration of the monarchy may gradually become the rule, and some form of public reconciliation between the Papacy and the kingdom may be effected, on the basis, perhaps, of the Guarantees, and the annual subvention, which up to this time the Vatican has



steadily refused. In any case, the lifting by ever so little of the ecclesiastical blockade that has stood for a generation is by so much a stage towards reconciliation.

If this meant that individual Catholics were now to be free to do their duty as Italian citizens independently and loyally, it would be a most welcome consummation. Unhappily, this programme, which is that of the Christian Democrats, is explicitly denounced by the Vatican, and provision is made for a compact Clerical party captained by the bishops. No other construction can be put upon the words: "It is of some importance that the same activity, already laudably displayed by Catholics in preparing with a good electoral organization for the administrative life of the communes and provincial councils, should be extended to similar preparation and organization for political [i. e., national] life." This means, if words mean anything, that the Pope recommends the preliminary organization of a national Clerical party.

Upon the dislocation that must result in Italian political life if a compact Clerical Centre sat at Montecitorio we have frequently remarked. Evidently such a disciplined force might readily hold a Parliamentary balance of power and make its bargains upon advantageous terms. It could immediately project into the Chamber of Deputies a large number of leaders of extraordinary political capacity and experience. We have held that such a body bound to a particular interest would have a most unfortunate effect upon the public life of Italy, and we still believe that if the *Non expedit* stands between Italy and militant Clericalism in Parliament, its relaxation will be chiefly deplored by that reigning house against which it was originally directed.

But of course it is a far cry from the recommendation of political organization, by the most unworldly of Popes, to the upbuilding of a political party like the German *Centrum*. The Pope and his bishops may well find it difficult to hold the Catholic voters to a Clerical programme. There is considerable independence of opinion between the Alps and the Tiber, and even in southern Italy distrust of the priest is a pretty general feeling, and one that would stand in the way of a Clerical propaganda. There is, then, a reasonable hope that the practical effect of Pius X.'s initiative may be the gradual distribution of the Catholics who so far have abstained from voting, among the various political parties of Italy. In a country essentially Roman Catholic, there will inevitably be a certain amount of political activity by the Church; it is desirable for the sake of the Church and State alike that such activity should be as limited as possible. The possibility of a party actively directed from the Vatican is a strong reminder that the present constructive en-

mity between the Vatican and Quirinal has its distinct advantages, and that it may be unwise to disturb too abruptly a highly illogical or even deplorable condition.

#### FORTY YEARS OF "THE NATION."

The Editor of the *Nation* had not intended to plant a stake on the completion of the fortieth year of this journal with its last issue in June. Least of all a personal stake. The temporal division of the day's work is what chiefly interests him, and always what is before rather than what is behind. Persistence, with him, is in the bone, and on this inheritance of nature he never thought to plume himself. His collaborators, however, would have it otherwise, and conspired to mark the term by a testimonial which they presented on July 6, the date of the very first issue of the *Nation* in 1865. An inscribed vase of great beauty was the visible token, and it was accompanied by a congratulatory note signed by more than two hundred of the *Nation's* staff, some equal veterans with the Editor. Had all this been done in a corner, it should so have remained—a matter among friends. But the utter secrecy observed in carrying out the enterprise having been followed by advertisement in the daily press, the Editor is reluctantly compelled to share the news with his own readers.

"You have made the *Nation*," runs the note, "for more than a generation the chief literary journal in America—the medium of the best criticism, and the mouthpiece of high intellectual ideals." Such has, in fact, been my aim, attended let others judge with what success. My disclaimer relates to the degree of individual merit implied. It is true that I put my hand to the plough with the initial number of the *Nation* and have never let go the plough-tail. It is true, also, that while the literary department was my especial charge, I participated from the beginning as a writer in the political conduct of the paper. What is needful to be pointed out is, that I came to the task an inexperienced youth, and at once entered into pupillage to a great writer and master political moralist, the late Edwin Lawrence Godkin, whom with admiring eyes I saw

"Mount in his glorious course on competent wing."

He it was that shaped the framework of the *Nation* and gave the informing spirit, and drew around him those liberal natures on both sides of the Atlantic who impressed a permanent stamp of authority, ideality, and scholarship on the paper. In the tentative days, Mr. Godkin was intimately counselled by Charles Eliot Norton, one of the indispensable founders of the *Nation*, and still one of its oldest as well as most valued contributors. It was Mr. Norton who penned the note of congratulation which I feel constrained to gloss with due remembrance of the makers of the tradition which it has been my privilege more or less independently for the past twenty-four years to uphold.

Long before the *Nation* had attained its majority, it had an entity identifiable with no one man. It drew its intellectual and moral support from a great body of enlightened and humane men and women, who became the *Nation's* incarnate. I believe I can confidently appeal to the experience of subscribers and readers—readers always largely in excess of subscribers—in affirming that

"a *Nation* man" stands for something definite in the social order, and that the paper furnishes a trusty bond of congeniality wherever strangers come together with no other introduction. This is a cheering thought for the Editor, but it should not lead him to confound his office of intermediary with the constitution of the real *Nation*.

The dedicatory inscription on the vase presented to me was written by Goldwin Smith, and speaks of the service rendered to my country by "forty years of able, upright, and truly patriotic work in the editorship of the *Nation*." Such a certificate from such a source is honorable indeed, and I can candidly profess to have been animated by patriotic motives in every line I have ever written for this journal. These motives I was born to, and they proceed from that larger outlook which my father (whose term of editorial labor I have now just equalled) expressed in his *Liberator* motto, "My Country is the World, My Countrymen are all Mankind." They imply not only freedom from provincial narrowness in human sympathy, but a right of clear vision and independent criticism of one's own people, one's own Government. I could ask nothing more than to be found to have derived also from my father the concomitants of his patriotism, "the modest spirit, the forthright and indomitable temper, heat, and the strong spurning of the vile, and the untrammelled word."

It does not enter into my purpose to review the fortunes of the *Nation* in its four decades, nor to discuss its still relative isolation among independent presses. It would but mar a festive occasion to contrast the high, all-embracing philanthropy to which the country seemed dedicated on coming out of the civil war—Lincoln's Gettysburg speech still ringing in our ears—with our present state of shattered republican ideals, our tyrannous subjection of "inferior" peoples, our all-prevalent militarism. Then, our American reliance was on the force of example, such as Coleridge, not yet disillusioned, anticipated from the French Revolution—

"And, conquering by her happiness alone,  
Shall France compel the nations to be free."

Now, we have come down to compelling them to pay their debts and the usurious interest of revolutionary speculators, to govern themselves in accordance with our notions, and to yield the vineyard which we covet.

It remains to thank those who have united in a little-called-for, wholly unexpected tribute of personal esteem and affection, from the bottom of my heart. So long as strength endures, I shall endeavor with their aid to perpetuate a journal which has, I believe, no exact parallel in any other country, and whose service has ever been a service of love. It is mine, I repeat, only in name.

For the sake of the record, I will add that with Mr. Norton and with Mr. Goldwin Smith were associated Messrs. Charles Francis Adams, James Ford Rhodes, William Roscoe Thayer, Francis Philip Nash, Joseph Hetherington McDaniels, and Russell Sturgis; and, with a proper pride of fellowship, I append the distinguished list of those whose signatures were affixed to the congratulatory note—a be-de-roll which the



stealth of preparation prevented from being as full as it might have been.

WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PHILIP L. ALLEN, FREDERIC BANCROFT, AD. F. BANDELIER, CARL BECKER, BERNHARD BERENSON, CARL EDWARD BILLQVIST, WILLIAM HENRY BISHOP, GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, EDWARD G. BOURNE, HENRY P. BOWDITCH, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, WM. ASPENWALL BRADLEY, W. HAND BROWNE, W. C. BROWNELL, JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, JAMES BRYCE, CARL DARLING BUCK, JOHN H. BUCK, CHARLES J. BULLOCK, WM. H. BURNHAM, WM. H. CARPENTER, LUCIEN CARR, ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN, TITUS MUNSON COAN, CHARLES W. COLBY, MARTIN CONWAY, MONCURE D. CONWAY, ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, LANE COOPER, KENTON COX, T. FREDERICK CRANE, R. J. CROSS, WM. H. DALL, WINTHROP MORE DANIELS, N. DARNELL DAVIS, WILLIAM MORRIS DAVIS, FRANK MILES DAY, ALBERT VENN DICET, FRANK HAIGH DIXON, WM. E. DODD, DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, LOUIS DYER, ALICE MORSE EARLE, JAMES C. EGBERT, OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, EPHRAIM EMERTON, S. F. EMMONS, GASTON FAY, WM. I. FLETCHER, WORTHINGTON C. FORD, WILLIAM E. FOSTER, HAROLD N. FOWLER, WILMER CAVE FRANCE, KUNO FRANCKE, CHRISTINE LADD FRANKLIN, FABIAN FRANKLIN, SAMUEL GARMAN, JAMES M. GARNETT, RICHARD GARNETT, GEORGE P. GARRISON, CHARLES HARVEY GENUNG, BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, CHAS. R. GILLET, DANIEL C. GILMAN, LAWRENCE GODKIN, GEORGE LINCOLN GOODALE, CASPAR F. GOODRICH, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, C. H. GRANDGENT, FRANCIS V. GREENE, FERRIS GREENSLET, APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN, WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIN, P. GROTH, CURTIS GUILD, JR., FRANK WARREN HACKETT, ARTHUR T. HADLEY, JAMES D. HAQUE, ISABEL F. HAPGOOD, GEORGE McLEAN HARPER, CHARLES HARRIS, GEORGE WM. HARRIS, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, JAMES MORGAN HART, HENRY W. HAYNES, ANGELO HEILPRIN, LOUIS HEILPRIN, GEORGE HEMPEL, BURTON J. HENDRICK, C. JUDSON HERRICK, WATERMAN THOMAS HEWETT, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, FRIEDRICH HIRTH, JACOB H. HOLLANDER, E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, JAMES K. HOMER, JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD, CHARLES H. HULL, GAILLARD HUNT, JAMES H. HYSLOP, EMMA NORTON IRELAND, A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, T. A. JAGGAR, WILLIAM JAMES, W. H. JOHNSON, MARY AUGUSTA JORDAN, AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON, ALBERT G. KELLER, FRANCIS W. KELSEY, G. L. KITTREDGE, HENRY B. KÜMMEL, HAMMOND LAMONT, WM. COOLIDGE LANE, CHARLES R. LANMAN, LE COCQ DE LAUTREPPE, HENRY C. LEA, ERNST E. LEMCKE, GEORGE T. LITTLE, HERBERT M. LLOYD, ANNIE MACFARLANE LOGAN, CHARLES F. LUMMIS, WALTER F. McCALDER, J. H. MCDANIELS, DUNCAN B. MCDONALD, WILLIAM MCDONALD, A. R. MCDONOUGH, KENNETH MCKENZIE, FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, JESSIE WHITE MARIO, FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR., ALBERT MATTHEWS, D. MCG. MEANS, MANSFIELD MERRIMAN, EDWARD STOCKTON MEYER, CHARLES H. MOORE, JOHN BASSETT MOORE, MORRIS H. MORGAN, FRANCIS PHILIP NASH, W. A. NEILSON, SIMON NEWCOMB, CLARK S. NORTHRUP, CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, GRACE NORTON, CHARLES C. NOTT, ALEXANDER D. NOTES, GEORGE R. NOTES, MURROUGH O'BRIEN, ROLLO OGDEN, G. H. PALMER, HENRY GREENLEAF PEARSON, CHARLES S. PEIRCE, ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL, ISAAC R. PENNYPACKER, JOHN P. PETERS,

GUSTAV POLLAK, EDWARD KENNARD RAND, SALOMON REINACH, JAMES FORD RHODES, RUFUS B. RICHARDSON, EDWARD ROBINSON, F. N. ROBINSON, JAMES H. ROBINSON, JOHN C. ROSE, JOSIAH ROYCE, C. S. SARGENT, EVELYN SCHUYLER SCHAEFFER, F. C. S. SCHILLER, GEORGE H. SCHODDE, HENRY SCHOFIELD, CARL SCHURZ, CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, FRED NEWTON SCOTT, MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT, ARTHUR G. SEDGWICK, J. HERBERT SENTER, THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, N. S. SHALER, GOLDWIN SMITH, JOHN B. SMITH, MUNROE SMITH, H. MORSE STEPHENS, JOHN L. STEWART, MARIE STILLMAN, CHARLES H. STOCKTON, JOHN TAPPAN STODDARD, E. A. STRONG, W. STRUNK, JR., RUSSELL STURGIS, F. C. DE SUMICHRAST, CHARLES W. SUPER, LINDSAY SWIFT, F. W. TAUSSIG, GEORGE A. THAYER, WILLIAM R. THAYER, CALVIN THOMAS, CHARLES C. TORREY, CRAWFORD H. TOY, C. C. VERMEULE, OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, WILLISTON WALKER, BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, JAMES R. WHEELER, EDWARD LUCAS WHITE, LEO WIENER, JOHN HENRY WIGMORE, BURT G. WILDER, GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, C. H. E. A. WINSLOW, JOHN E. WOLFE, GEORGE E. WOODBERRY, ALFRED A. WOODHULL.

#### TAINE'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1870-1871.

-II.

PARIS, June 28, 1906.

Taine was still at Orsay in April, 1871, writing almost every day to his wife, giving her whatever news he could obtain of the interior of Paris, which had become a "pandemonium." He informed her also of the temper of the National Assembly at Versailles. The programme of M. Thiers was still in force: union in the Assembly, reorganization of the national forces and of the administration, payment of the war indemnity, no discussion of the form of the future government.

"The moderate republicans themselves admit this. Louis Blanc, having proposed to the Left to ask for the definitive proclamation of the Republic, met with a decided refusal. The impression is that the Chamber is more united than it was at Bordeaux, the Deputies having made mutual acquaintance and being rid of the violent Reds. The impression is also that the present Chamber is less reactionary than the previous. . . . The Legitimists at Versailles, talking, reading, feeling the neighborhood of Paris, are more moderate, see better the necessities, are more politic. Almost all of them ask for the most extended liberties. The fusionists try to make the following compromise prevail: to frame the most essential fundamental legislation, the electoral, municipal laws, etc.; then, the edifice once constructed, to place at the head of the vault Henri V., supported by the Orléans, his heirs, ministers, and principal officers."

Such was undoubtedly the wish of the Legitimist party, which was in great force in the Chamber. The Orléans princes accepted the principle of fusion, and all the moderate Republicans were willing to accept it if they could be guaranteed a liberal constitution. Taine saw at once the difficulties of fusion. "My objection," he wrote, "is always the Clerical, Absolutist, Austrian education of the Duke of Bordeaux. They answer me that he would be kept in bounds by the fundamental laws and by the collaboration of the Orléans." He felt, however, that something had to be decided. "There are four parties in France;

two at least must unite in order to offer resistance to demagoguery and the Bonapartes, the dictatorship from below or from above."

It soon became evident that the insurrection of the Commune could not be vanquished in a week, so Taine went again to Tours; bombs were falling in Sceaux and Fontenay, and he was preparing lectures which he had to deliver at Oxford. I have heard Taine's letters criticised on account of the perpetual mixture in them of purely personal and often trifling remarks with considerations possessing general interest; it is to me one of their merits. They are perfectly sincere, they were not written for the public in order to produce an effect or to preach a doctrine. We find in them the real man, horrified at what was going on, waking, as it were, out of a long dream; a man of the study, fundamentally pacific, a believer in ideas; one who had been brought up, as all thinkers were till 1870, in admiration, almost worship, of German culture and German ideas; a believer also in liberty, brought face to face with war, invasion, and with the Communistic fury. His mind suffered a sort of revulsion. His conscientious, observing intellect could hardly absorb all the sensations which were troubling his rest. The letters are a candid avowal of his disappointments, his fears, his indignation; and I don't find it unnatural that this should take the form of disconnected descriptions and remarks, nor that these remarks should be mingled with all sorts of small family and personal matters.

Taine thought of establishing himself in Switzerland, in order to live there quietly, and to make only an annual visit to Paris; perhaps he could give lectures in Geneva, as Sainte-Beuve had once done. His first letter from England was written on the 29th of May, from London, where he saw Dean Stanley, Lord Houghton, Grant-Duff, Arthur Russell, Henry Reeve, Van de Weyer: "You may think that in London I have the spleen—it is a part of the local color. . . . I have the same impressions as before—a colossal industry, enormous wealth, paupers in rags, ignoble lanes behind sumptuous streets. . . . I promise myself only a single pleasure, which will cost little and be very simple: it will consist in not seeing the Exhibition." He dined with Grote, the historian, and his wife. "She is sixty-five years old, an economist, an orator, a stout woman in the whole sense of the word" [this is in English in the letter]. "The husband would make, he says, a fine portrait for Van Dyck—very tall, with very marked features, seventy-five years old, a true gentleman, but who understands history. 'À l'anglaise,' only on the political side. He has written the history of Greece, and has never been to Greece; he cares nothing for places, or for the climate."

Taine learned in Oxford of the horrors of Paris, the burning of the Tuilleries and the Hôtel de Ville; he was in the Library of the University when the librarian with a sort of compassion showed him the papers containing the dreadful news. "These men," he says, "are enraged wolves. And they used petroleum? What could have been saved from such flames? Never would the Russians have done as much. These brigands, who turn against monuments and masterpieces, place themselves out of hu-

manity's reach." There are notices in the letters of Pattison the Dean of Lincoln, of Max-Müller, of Jowett, master of Balliol, "a Liberal who is near to Renan, who has written on Plato and Saint Paul," of Matthew Arnold, of Henry Smith. Taine notes all along what he called the "petits faits," his favorite method, which helped him to give a little life to what he wrote, but had the danger of inducing him often to generalize from isolated facts. At Jowett's house, he met Swinburne.

"His verses are in the manner of Baudelaire and Victor Hugo; a small, red-haired man in a frock-coat with a blue cravat, which contrasted with all the blackcoats and white cravats. He stiffens in talking, throws himself backward with a convulsive movement as if he had the delirium tremens. Passionately fond of modern French literature—Hugo, Stendhal—and painting. His style is that of a visionary in bad health, who systematically looks for excessive sensations."

Taine met also Miss Arnold, "a very clever girl," who became afterwards Mrs. Humphry Ward, and who has made a great and deserved reputation by her novels, 'Robert Elsmere,' 'Lady Rose's Daughter,' 'The Marriage of William Ashe.' Miss Arnold told Taine, who was wondering at the literary preoccupations of the ladies he met: "Everybody here reads, writes, or gives lectures; we must all follow the current. After all, it keeps us busy, and the library is so fine, so convenient." "She is not at all pedantic; it is the outflow of youth and of intellectual strength." But the critic does not forfeit his rights; he adds: "In all I read or hear, I see nowhere the fine literary sentiment, the gift or the art of understanding souls and extinct passions. They are chiefly learned or solid—for instance, Mr. Freeman, who recommences the Norman Conquest of Augustin Thierry."

On his return from Oxford, Taine recommenced his lectures at the École des Beaux-Arts, and began to collect in the National Library and in the National Archives the materials for the work which he published afterwards under the general title of 'The Origins of Contemporary France.' He abandoned his purely speculative and philosophical researches. As his editor says: "In presence of the ruin made by the war and the Commune, and of the perturbation of spirit amid the work of national reconstruction, it seemed to him that the hour of pure speculation had passed, and that the thinker, as well as the man of action, owed all his strength to his country." It seemed to Taine that the troubles of France during the whole of the nineteenth century arose from the too sudden rupture of French modern society with the traditions of the French race. The rupture was made at the end of the eighteenth century, by the Revolution; he undertook to describe in succession the Old Régime, the Revolution, the New Régime. It does not enter my plan to criticise here this great work. The method which Taine followed may be called the scientific method; the bare, minute, often fastidious study of facts. His facts are too often petty; but no fact seemed to him small if it threw a little light on the subject of his study. It must be confessed, however, that a certain want of discrimination, of proportion, is often felt, and that the reader's mind is often lost in the disorder of the data on which hasty conclusions are based.

During the summer of 1875, Taine remained on the shores of the Lake of Annecy. He established himself there again the next year, and bought of an uncle a house at Menthon-Saint-Bernard. Savoy became his favorite residence; he considered a great city like Paris or London not a permanent residence for a thinker; that he ought to go to the capital only in order to exchange and compare ideas with the intellectual élite, and to do his chief work in retirement. He spent nineteen years on his estate at the Lake of Annecy, working in his room most of his time, taking short walks in his garden and living in a sort of dream, surrounded by a very affectionate and intelligent family, as much devoted to his works as he could be himself.

He was induced to present himself to the Academy in 1875, but was defeated. The last letters of the volume of his correspondence just published allude to this academic campaign. The charm of correspondence is partly in its profuseness when the writer is a man of Taine's type. The editors were right in giving us the whole of this correspondence, and we can only hope that they will continue their work with the same care and conscientiousness.

## Correspondence.

### MR. ROOSEVELT'S VIEW OF THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In one of his cleverest short stories, Edgar Jepson represents the private secretary of an English premier going through all the earlier speeches of that high dignitary in order that something he is about to say may not conflict too glaringly with anything he has previously said. "Flappers" of this painstaking character should be included in the retinue of all our public men, particularly when they are given not only to oratory, but to large-scale literary production as well. Thus, one of Mr. Roosevelt's assistants might find the present moment opportune to remind him of certain comments on the office of Vice-President made in his 'American Ideals' no further back than 1897. At that time, when the buzzing of the Presidential bee must have seemed leagues remote from the bonnet of New York's strenuous police commissioner, Mr. Roosevelt wrote:

"The Vice-President . . . should be a man standing well in the councils of the party, trusted by his fellow party leaders, and able in the event of an accident to his chief to take up the work of the latter just where it was left. . . . One sure way to secure this desired result would undoubtedly be to increase the power of the Vice-President. He should always be a man who would be consulted by the President on every great party question. It would be very well if he were given a seat in the Cabinet. It might be well if, in addition to his vote in the Senate in the event of a tie, he should be given a vote on ordinary occasions, and perchance on occasions a voice in the debates."

So long as Mr. Roosevelt served in succession to President McKinley, his Secretary of State (under the act of 1886) occupied the place of heir apparent in our political system. Since March 4, however, there has been nothing to prevent the realization in part, at least, of the foregoing "American

Ideal." No constitutional reason exists for denying Mr. Roosevelt the right to consult with Mr. Fairbanks informally as much as he pleases, or even to call him into the sessions of the Cabinet if he so desires. Doubtless Mr. Beveridge would condemn such action most vociferously, and an echoing clamor might rise as by magic from the fat corn lands of Indiana; but such opposition could base itself only on grounds of party or personal policy. As to giving the Vice-President a vote in the Senate on ordinary occasions, or "perchance on occasions a voice in debate," the matter is hardly so simple. According to Article I, Section III, Clause 4 of a document sometimes referred to still, in spite of the fact that it is near six-score years old, "the Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided." An unconditional negative surmountable only by amendment stands, therefore, in the way of giving the Vice-President a vote in the Senate on ordinary occasions. Mr. Roosevelt did not stop to consider this difficulty in his 'American Ideals'; but, even assuming it disposed of, a still more troublesome question arises. Equal representation in the Senate, as one of the great compromises of the Constitution, is specifically exempted from amendment in the ordinary manner by Article V., which provides that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Doubtless quite a number of our States would be disinclined to allow Indiana at the present time, or any other State in the future, three votes and voices to their two in the upper house of Congress. But, after all, as the Honorable Tim inquired: "What's a little thing like the Constitution between friends?" Perhaps when Mr. Roosevelt has acquired the treaty powers of the Senate and otherwise extended the scope of his office at the cost of the legislative and judicial branches, he will divide with Mr. Fairbanks. There will be more to divide then, anyway. B.

ITHACA, N. Y., July 7, 1905.

### TURKISH TALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your review of the book called 'Told in the Gardens of Araby' contains several statements which need to be rectified. Kúnos published ninety-eight Turkish folk-tales in the original in two volumes (Budapest, 1887-89), and a Hungarian translation of a few of them in a separate volume (Budapest, 1889). The latter has been translated into English by Nisbet Bain (London, 1896). The Hungarian savant published twenty-five additional Turkish folk-tales in the original in the volume entitled 'Mundarten der Osmanen' (St. Petersburg, 1899). The statement that Kúnos collected his tales in Anatolia was refuted long ago, and is contradicted by the title of his recent volume, 'Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul' (Leyden, 1905). It contains a German translation of fifty-one tales. A collection of fifteen fairy tales has been published in Stambul, under the title of 'Crystal Palace.' The original of the tales published by Kúnos has such a Stambul flavor about it that I do not see how your reviewer could have mistaken it for Anatolian Turkish. A specimen of



the latter has been given by Kúnos in his 'Mundarten der Osmanen,' p. 408. O. T. June 16, 1905.

[Our critic's only point of correction—apart from bibliographical expansion, which seemed unnecessary in our Note—appears to be that those tales are not from Anatolia, but Stambul. In this he may quite possibly be correct; Kúnos's last volume (Leyden, 1905), to which he refers, has not yet reached us.—ED. NATION.]

#### SHAKSPERE, BEN JONSON, AND PLINY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your excerpts from Professor Sonnenschein's article, in your issue of June 29, with accompanying comment, will have added interest if you permit me to direct attention to a brief anonymous contribution in *Baconiana* for January, 1904, which until now has been quite ignored. Therein it is shown that the brief Epistle Dedicatory of the First Folio, signed by Heminge and Condell, is a close paraphrase of the preface to Pliny's Natural History! Of the nine parallel passages there adduced, the eighth is as characteristic as any:

From the First Folio.

Country hands reach forth milke, cream, fruites, or what they have: and many Nations (we have heard) that had not gummes & incense, obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approach their Gods by what meanes they could.

It is important to add that while there was an English translation of Pliny extant as early as 1601, absolutely no resemblance can be detected between this and the Heminge and Condell Dedication. It remained for the translation in Bohn's Library edition (1855) to disclose the remarkable resemblance. Malone long ago suspected that this dedication was really the work of Ben Jonson, and some few critics have agreed with him.

*Baconiana* not being easily accessible to American readers, it may be stated that there is a bound file at the Astor Library: shelfmark, 544 C. CHAS. A. HERPICH. NEW YORK, July 7, 1905.

### Notes.

Harper & Bros. will publish directly 'Love's Cross-Currents,' a novel by Algeron Charles Swinburne.

Thomas Whittaker has nearly ready 'Model of a Motor Car,' with an historical sketch and brief description of the working parts, by Hugo Güldner, with superimposed colored charts.

The first part of a work of great value and equal labor, viz., the 'Corps de Droit Ottoman: Recueil des Codes, Lois, Règlements, Ordonnances et Actes les plus importants du Droit intérieur, et d'Études sur le Droit Coutumier de l'Empire Ottoman,' by George Young, second secretary of the English Embassy, has appeared from the Clarendon Press (New York: H.

Frowde) in three volumes; Part 2 will appear during the present year in four volumes.

We read in the ninth annual report of the Free Library of Philadelphia, that the late Secretary Hay permitted his eulogy of President McKinley "to be printed in Moon embossed type," in response to many requests from the blind for a Life of McKinley. Mr. Hay, of course, consented, and defrayed half the cost of printing. Some who recall that eulogy may think this a case of the blind leading the blind.

The Englishwoman who writes under the pseudonym "Vernon Lee" has always displayed a peculiar talent for topographical description, that most difficult art. In her latest volume, 'The Enchanted Woods' (John Lane), she has collected some thirty brief essays, or, rather, sketches from her notebook, all of them descriptive of the moods that are inspired by certain surroundings in the soul of the passing wayfarer. She is an insatiable traveller, but her impressions are not such as might occur to any tourist of imagination who should find himself, say, at Arles, "where the Rhone stagnates," or at the shrine of the Black Madonna on the top of Monte Mucrone, or motoring through the quiet villages of Surrey. Vernon Lee, when she sets out to record her encounters with the divinity of a place, the *genius loci*, puts in every descriptive touch with a light hand, and implies that all this sunshine and romance, or, if you turn the page, all that chill gray dreariness with which she can invest some out-of-the-way corner of Italy or France or Spain, is wholly subjective—a matter of a "dull, bad temper" one day, or on the next of a genial enthusiasm due to fine weather. But a gift of expression and an imagination easily kindled are less uncommon than that other fascination which Vernon Lee can secure for such essays as these. What gives the book a permanent value is her thorough knowledge of the literature, the art, and the architecture of these countries in whose remote corners she has from time to time made her home. The possession of so much solid knowledge would tempt most persons to a display of pedantry, but from this danger Vernon Lee is happily saved by a genuine sense of humor and a capricious turn of mind.

To the increasingly voluminous but not always reliable current literature dealing with immigration, Mr. J. D. Whelpley's 'Problem of the Immigrant' (Dutton) is a distinctly useful contribution. The problem has been studied too much as a national, not to say a "parochial," one. Hence there has been a tendency to forget that other countries besides our own are grappling with the question, and that the problem of immigration has its correlative problem of emigration for those countries which we glibly talk of as anxious to dump their citizens upon us. Mr. Whelpley presents the problem convincingly as essentially international. As he clearly puts it: "The emigration movement from one country is the immigration movement into another, or perhaps a dozen others. . . . Emigration has unquestionably become an international affair, and, until it is so treated, complications and evils resulting therefrom can be only partially and quite ineffectually controlled by each nation acting for itself, independently of all others." No better evi-

dence could be produced of this fact than the legislative provisions and regulations governing the movement of population enacted by various governments in Europe and America. Mr. Whelpley has rendered a great and much-needed service in making accessible those of Continental countries. His summaries seem excellent and correct. The observations and brief discussion with which he accompanies them are illuminating and to the point. The book lacks all that sensational taint which mars much of the work of some of our more or less amateur sociologists. It proceeds from a scholar who has taken pains to collect trustworthy data before attempting to give even a conservative opinion on a difficult and complicated subject.

Miss Gertrude Bacon, herself well known as an aeronaut, has produced 'Balloons, Airships, and Flying Machines' (Dodd, Mead & Co.). The whole story having been already told a thousand times with every imaginable device of sensation, her problem was to make a brief thousand and first recital not wholly uninteresting, without resort to any other means than those that are strictly germane to the history of airfaring. The tiny volume that has resulted is a little triumph, due to a bright, fresh mind drawing from the headwaters of information ideas that sparkle with genuine interest in the subject, which is allowed to run on in its own natural babble. Just as an ordinary observer who stands up with some effort against the pressure of a high wind, and describes far up in the blue a balloon hurried along in a still more tremendous gale, is apt to forget that, to the balloonist himself, he seems to be in a dead calm—the spectator, indeed, finding it hard to think of such a thing—so the plainest narrative of a balloon trip told strictly from the able airman's point of view, in perfect equanimity, never mounting into any purple clouds, never soaring above any reader's head, but sticking to the *terra firma* of plain fact, makes a far stronger impression upon the imagination than in any other style it ever could. That was a discovery exhibited by Miss Bacon's father in his 'By Land and Sky'; and the daughter has caught a little of his charm. The illustrations are particularly well chosen, and several of the most vivid and telling are quite new. We do not know whether the "Crossing the Channel" (p. 46) is so or not; but the frontispiece certainly is.

Another little book of the same "Practical Science Series," entitled 'Radium Explained,' by Dr. W. Hampson, is not so fortunate an attempt. It is largely taken up with an attack upon the electronal theory of matter and with preparations for that attack. Now that theory, bright though its prospects certainly are, is very far from being proved, and it is quite a legitimate object of attack. But unless its opponent has a clear understanding of the theory of electricity, his argument will make wearisome wading; and this is the first fault of the present book. Its further fault is that it undertakes to solve this profound problem on a basis of common sense. Now common sense, rightly interpreted, has nothing at all to say about electricity, which ought to be left to specialists; and the attempt to drag common sense into the question can amount only to abandoning the study of experimental



phenomena and to engaging in cloudy talk about words and phrases. Dr. Hampson, however, is not alone in his ill-managed argument. Professor Dolbear, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for July, takes up a similar line of discourse, and so have others done. All these writers say that "electricity" consists in a particular variety of energy; but they do not tell us what they use the word electricity to denote. If it means, what physicists and others usually mean by electricity, a *charge* of electricity, then, as Sir Oliver Lodge well remarks, to say that electricity consists in energy is very much like saying that a glass of water is composed of energy. But the question of the truth of the electron theory is not a question of words—it is a question of how a certain laboratory experiment will turn out whenever we may be able, literally or virtually, to perform it.

Perhaps the most interesting point developed in Dr. Burton-Fanning's 'Open-Air Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis' (Chicago: W. P. Keener & Co.) is the superior curative power of outdoor over indoor air, even when the apartment appears to be thoroughly ventilated. That there is such a difference, experience demonstrates. A distinct superiority in intractable cases is gained by placing the febrile consumptive in the open air in lieu of close to an open window. Why that is so, is not yet determined. Dr. Haldane has shown that there is no difference between the percentage of carbon dioxide or of oxygen in the two situations. It is true that occupied rooms always contain bacteria, and, although these are probably non-pathogenic in the ordinary sense when the apartments are kept ventilated and dustless, it may be that they play some part in the tubercular process. The outer air alone is devoid of such organisms, and perhaps that barrenness is a determining condition. Another suggestion is that air in motion has a particular influence upon health, as is hinted in the exhilaration of rapid passage through the air, or in that of certain winds. On the contrary, there are times, notably within the tropics and in dense forests, when the unconfined aerial ocean is really stagnant, and even healthy animal life becomes depressed. For many years general sanitation has increased the expectation of life for the tuberculous, and now the appreciation of an absolute indulgence in open air (and, we may add, residence upon a dry soil) regardless of other climatic conditions, as always advantageous and frequently essential, is growing among physicians and laity alike. Paul's *résumé* *général* has a double significance.

The third part of Dr. Pope's 'Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language' (H. Frowde) needs no special notice. It worthily complements the grammar and exercises already reviewed in these columns. The subtitle, "a compendious Tamil-English dictionary," might mislead one searching for something more complete than a vocabulary of ninety-eight 12mo pages.

'Le Grand-Duché de Berg,' by Charles Schmidt (Paris: Félix Alcan), is a minute documentary study of the German principality formed by Napoleon in 1806 for the benefit of his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. The chapter on economic conditions is particularly good; and the book as a

whole, though not likely to interest the general public, may be commended as one of the best studies of Napoleonic administration yet published.

There is a very pretty piece of antiquarianism in the current issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Miss Mary Farwell Ayer discourses on the South Meetinghouse, Boston, 1669-1729, with an illustration of it, long lost to sight, which she discovered on a map in the British Museum beneath a pasted-over engraving of the later edifice. The Rev. Hiram Francis Fairbanks reports progress in the endeavor to trace the English pedigree of our Presidential Adamses, and promises more detail hereafter.

Part I. of the fifth volume of Mr. Edward Wilson James's *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary* (Baltimore: The Friedenwald Co.) presents unusual variety, and shows the sources of social and political history to be far from exhausted. Numerous slaveholding censuses are given, and in that for Princess Anne Co., 1830, we read (among the whites), "Jesse Dawley, F. B. [free black], & Father & Brother Wm."—that is, as the editor explains, he probably owned these relatives as Fanny Fuller, F. B., listed among the blacks as following the condition of her husband, "probably owned her husband," but not her son Arthur, enumerated with her. Africa Griffin, F. B., owned his wife. There were 1,950 slaves to 581 owners. Further on is a list of "Lord Dunmore's black banditti," viz., the slaves run off aboard the *Dunluce* and *Dunmore* by Virginia's last Royal Governor in May, 1776. They at least bore the names of F. F. V.'s, and were thus distinguished by their owners on recovering them later.

In view of the many conflicting reports as to the fate of the great historical library of Theodor Mommsen, it is some satisfaction to learn that the entire collection has been presented to the University of Bonn by a lady who does not desire her name to be revealed.

After considerable agitation in official circles, the University authorities in Vienna have finally agreed to admit a woman to the teaching corps. Miss Dr. Elise Richter delivered a "Probatorlesung" in the philosophical faculty, and is now a privat-docent. She discussed the Spanish drama "Celestin," dating from the sixteenth century, which shows in its plot a remarkable resemblance to "Romeo and Juliet." Miss Richter did not venture to argue that Shakspere based his plot on the Spanish.

The Russo-Indian problem, in which Lord Kitchener's recent note of alarm has awakened a fresh interest, was discussed by Sir Thomas Holdich at a meeting of the Central Asian Society. His belief, based on personal observation, was that England's strength in Asia was greater than the majority of Englishmen were disposed to admit. In India the prestige of the British Government was supreme, resting on a conviction that the inevitable dispositions of Providence had arranged that England should rule India. This prestige was greatly strengthened by the sentiment for Queen Victoria. In the wilds of the Central India jungles, and in Tibet also, he found that she was regarded as still living—an incarnation exerting a beneficent influence. Referring to the alleged danger from a Russian invasion, he called attention to the fact that the natural fighting material in India was at least double

that of Russia, and that a call to arms to meet a foreign invader would be responded to almost with enthusiasm. He concluded with a plea for a good understanding with Russia in Asia, and the linking up of railway systems which would promote international commerce and would at once outflank all the complications of Afghan and Persian policy.

The Asiatic Society of Japan continues its creditable record of publication by issuing the initial portion of volume xxxii., containing a sketch of the life of Kwazan, the pen-name of N. Watanabe. This man was one of the "morning stars" of the great Reformation of modern Japan, and one of those inquiring spirits whom the Yedo bureaucracy could not wholly suppress. In the days when the Japanese people were fenced in both as to their bodies and minds, and allowed neither departure from home nor access to foreign thought, Watanabe persevered through the Dutch and the native interpreters in knowing of the world at large. When over thirty, after first seeing a Mercator's projection of the globe, he joined that party of "Dutch scholars," or seekers after Western learning, who were continually under suspicion and often under persecution by the Shogun's Government, because they were in favor of opening the country to foreign intercourse. These Dutch scholars formed two parties, named after different districts of Yedo, one studying medicine only, and the other history, geography, and literature, with the desire also of having Japan fortified against Western, and especially Russian, aggression. Watanabe, born in 1794, was the traditional poor scholar. When, in 1837, the American ship *Morrison* appeared off the coast of Japan, he wrote the book 'Dream Story of Genji,' which had a profound influence on thinking men. The far-seeing daimio of Echizen, who was afterwards the first to engage foreign teachers, urged that the Japanese castaways brought by the American ship *Morrison* should be allowed to land and the captain receive audience, but the other daimios opposed the plan. The translator, Miss Ballard, relying on the Hakluyt's Society's publication, seems to be ignorant of the American literature on this subject, especially the writings of Dr. S. Wells Williams and the book, by Mr. C. W. King, owner of the ship, on the 'Voyage of the *Morrison* and *Himmalee*.' In the end, Watanabe, ever under suspicion of the Yedo bureaucrats, thinking that his mere existence was an obstacle to the advancement of his feudal lord, opened his bowels in true Japanese style. It was not until 1870 that his reputation was cleansed by official pardon and a gravestone set up. In 1891, when his admirers erected a memorial, the Mikado's Government sent its contribution of 100 yen. The Marquis Ito has repeatedly eulogized him as a shining patriot. An interesting translation of a Japanese treatise on the Art of Preparation for War, with the tactics modelled on goose lines, fish scales, and stork-wings, is also translated in this number by Mr. R. J. Kirby.

The reorganization of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy of Philadelphia, which is now going on, promises much for the interests of that science. Its new advisory board consists of some of the most distinguished anatomists of the country; their first work has been to appoint to the chair of neurology Professor H. H. Donaldson,

who now holds the corresponding position at the University of Chicago. For the coming two years, Professor Donaldson will continue to lecture at Chicago for part of the year.

Two travelling scholarships, of the value of \$1,500 each, have been established at the University of Paris for women who intend to become teachers.

Mr. Jacques Reich meets the interest of the hour with one of his large-scale etchings, the portrait of John Paul Jones, after Charles W. Peale's painting in Independence Hall. We are unable to make an immediate comparison between the two works, but Mr. Reich's aptitude for seizing a likeness is well established, and we have no doubt that he has produced an effigy in which reliance may be placed. Alertness is the main characteristic of the hero's face as here shown; the mouth is more amiable than firm. Jones is in cocked hat and the full naval costume of his rank. Mr. Reich's address is No. 2 West Fourteenth Street, New York.

—The presence of the vacation season is reflected strongly in the contents of the July *Scribner's*. Ralph D. Paine, Katharine Holland Brown, James B. Connolly, Sophie Jewett, and Arthur Train are the story writers. Augustus C. Buell introduces an interesting historical document brought to light by the publication of his History of Paul Jones, a narrative by John Kilby, quarter-gunner of the *Bon Homme Richard*, written down from memory in the year 1810, and now in the possession of Judge Wilbur J. Kilby of Suffolk, Va. The events recorded extend from 1776 to 1780, and, in spite of the lapse of thirty years, Mr. Buell finds in the narrative not a single error in any vital matter which can be tested by other evidence. Beatrix Jones contributes an article on Le Nôtre and his Gardens, illustrated by E. C. Peixotto, while Benjamin Brooks describes the little-known Tamalpais hill region of California. In the "Field of Art," Frederic Crowninshield reviews favorably the work of the Fine Arts Federation of New York through the nine years of its existence.

—The fourth of Mr. Howells's London papers in *Harper's* deals with the spots of particular interest because of some special connection with American origins, such as the Church of All Hallows, Barking, in which William Penn was baptized, and to which the headless trunk of Laud, persecutor of the Puritans, was carried from Tower Hill; the Church of the Danish St. Olaus, from whose parish Priscilla Mullins came; and St. Saviour's, in whose parish John Harvard was born. In strong contrast with the wanderings of Mr. Howells in old London is a floating trip down New York harbor, with James B. Connolly as the pilot. Mr. Connolly has found the one phase of beauty in his subject the view of the harbor from below at close of day. With atmospheric conditions just right, however, we doubt whether the rapid flashing into view of electric lights, after the sun has gone, can equal in splendor the effects produced by the last half-hour of a winter's sun. Herbert Jackson Hapgood, writing of "The Search for Men," maintains that the rewards for exceptional skill and ability were never so rich and so numerous as at the present day. Incidentally, Mr.

Hapgood accepts and passes on the ignorant misconception that "civil service" means a hard and fast method of regular promotion according to seniority, by which a competent and energetic man must necessarily be kept out of the place which needs him, merely because there happens to be a lazy and incompetent man ahead of him on the payroll. If Mr. Hapgood would take the trouble to learn the difference between the civil service and the merit system of appointment and promotion in that service, he might learn at the same time that the main object of that system is to make it possible to get the right man for the place and increase the chances that this possibility will be used.

—The anomaly of leaving the great express companies outside the scope of our interstate commerce legislation forms the subject of the opening paper in the *Atlantic*, as appears in our comment elsewhere. Chester Holcombe considers some of the results of the Eastern war, now that the outcome, in its main features, may be safely discounted. Primarily, the attitude of dictation heretofore dominant in all dealings of the great Powers with the Orient must be dropped once for all. The right of Japan to protect China in self-defence must be fully recognized, now that she has demonstrated the possession of the power as well as the right. Mr. Holcombe regards the reluctance of the Chinese to accept new ideas from the West as largely the result of the offensive, dictatorial attitude of those through whom these ideas came. As to the building of railways and telegraph lines, "superstitious objections, such as disturbance of the graves of ancestors, . . . were almost wholly fictional, empty substitutes for the real reason, which the high ideal of courtesy possessed by the Chinese would not permit them to state frankly." One turns with some interest to a discussion of large fortunes, by the head of the department of political economy in the University of Chicago, but nothing is found beyond the commonplaces that the builders of large fortunes frequently take but a small fraction of the wealth which their managerial ability creates, that some rich men are bad and others good, some large fortunes honorably acquired and some dishonorably, some wisely spent and some harmfully, etc., with no more positive suggestions for the removal of admitted evils than that we should "work all together for a higher standard of morals and character in the person who controls the power of wealth."

—The discussion of the new A. L. A. cataloguing rules is contained in the June *Library Journal* by Mr. Charles Martel of the Library of Congress, who writes about "Common Nouns in German: Why they need not be capitalized." There has been much opposition to the use of lower-case initials for German nouns in the printed cards of the Library of Congress, and Mr. Martel presents a short summary of the historical aspect of the question. The first orthographist who discussed the use of capital initials was Johann Kolross, in his 'Enchiridion,' printed in 1530, but he confined their use to the first word of a sentence, proper names and the name of God. The use of capitals for all common nouns became more and more common, however, and it is now incorporated in the Prussian

school law; protests have been raised from time to time, and the consensus of opinion among German linguists is opposed to initial capitals. Mr. Martel gives a list of some fifty works, selected at random from books in the Library of Congress, in which lower-case initials are used for common nouns. They are all linguistic works, however. The Library of Congress has repeatedly asked the opinion of competent authorities on the subject, and has received "many and emphatic" endorsements of its present practice. Mr. Martel quotes one, by Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard: "I should consider it decidedly a retrograde step if the Library of Congress were to abandon its excellent practice of printing common nouns in German titles with a small initial letter." The historical and theoretical reasons against capitals may be very strong; the practical reason for their use is none the less very strong, to wit, that, in the vast majority of books printed in German, capitals are used, that the official code of orthography calls for them, and that cataloguing is hardly the proper medium for orthographic innovations, especially in the case of foreign languages. It would seem that the cataloguer might follow the usage of the books catalogued.

—An exhibit of women's work such as has confronted one from time to time in the great expositions, has usually been in the nature of a demonstration, and conveyed a tacit challenge. It is as though the organizers of the exhibit had said, in so many words, "Here are the pictures that we have painted, the statues that we have chiselled, the buildings of which we are the architects, the colleges at which we receive the most advanced education of the day. Who shall look on all this and still deny that we are the equals of men in the affairs of art and the intellect?" Few intelligent women can have left a "Woman's Building" without a sigh for the present, however it may have inspired her with hope for the future. The very existence of such a building must seem to her an admission of a truth that is ignored in feminine oratory. But there has been held recently in Paris, under the auspices of a daily paper, an exhibition of women's work which every woman could inspect with pride and without a qualm. It was held in a "Palais de la Femme," a "Woman's Building," but there was no implication of rivalry with men. It was a demonstration of woman's achievements as ministering angel, and there at any rate she has always been on firm ground. A recent number of the *Réforme Sociale* contains only a partial account of the four hundred "œuvres sociales" that were represented at the "Palais de la Femme." Charitable Paris is, it seems, feminine Paris. Cities, and the degradation and sordid life of cities, are the work of men; women, like the Prayers in the *Iliad*, follow behind to heal.

—What impresses the reader of the long list of good works and the exhibition of their machinery in Paris is, that the aim, probably unconscious, of all this effort and initiative of the Frenchwoman as a ministering angel has been the preservation of the home, the safeguarding of the family. The central exhibit, and the centre of interest for the crowds that thronged the building, was a model dwelling for the



artisan. That was a sort of altar round which were grouped all the other "œuvres" or good works. But it is not the comfort of the workman himself that is the aim of all this social service. He must be attracted to home life, diverted from drink, persuaded to thrift, because it is his child on whose health and morals the future of France depends. There are in Paris alone sixty-six independent societies managing day-nurseries for the children of the poor, the *crèche* where the child is fed and tended while its mother is at work. From the moment of his birth when the society whose function it is provides the mother with the necessary garments, the *layette*, every need of the early years of the child of the poor in Paris is met by the helping hand of some organization of women bent on seeing it safely through that difficult period. For the child's sake the mother must be kept free from tuberculosis as the father must be dissuaded from drink. The women of France exhibited the records of twenty charitable institutions for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. Prevention rather than cure seemed to be the watchword of the exhibition, and the "works" of actual relief were in the minority compared with those of nourishment and preservation. But the cycle of feminine charity closed at last with the exhibits of ambulance work, and foremost among these the work of the Red Cross; woman coming behind to heal more obviously here, though not more literally, than in her mission to the slums.

—Dr. William Barry's "Ernest Renan" (Charles Scribner's Sons), a very attractive little volume, forms one of a series of "Literary Lives," edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D. A life of Renan, the arch-heretic and apostate of his day, sympathetically written by a Roman Catholic theologian and professor, is a literary curiosity. By "sympathy" we mean here an apparently honest attempt on the part of the biographer to grasp the personality of his subject, and to describe his work as its natural outcome. The biographer of Cardinal Newman could hardly fail to bring these two diametrically opposed characters into comparison, and in fact Dr. Barry loses no opportunity to show the error of Renan's method by contrasting it with what Newman did under circumstances alleged to be similar. The fault in this rather taking comparison lies in the assumption that the minds of the two men could ever really have worked in the same way. If we could trust Dr. Barry, both were driven into the maze of rationalism, from which Newman freed himself through the essential greatness of his truly Christian intellect, while Renan, for lack of this same saving intellectual quality, sank ever deeper into the slough of infidelity and finally of moral indifferentism. The thesis is cleverly maintained, and the book, in spite of its obvious dogmatic purpose, is interesting throughout. Like a clever controversialist, Dr. Barry gains the sympathy of the reader by bringing out all the winning side of the great literary artist before he turns the corner and reveals him as the victim of his own brilliancy, stranded on the barren shore of an empty rationalism.

#### POLLARD'S CRANMER.

*Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation* (1489-1556). By Albert Frederick Pollard, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

It was fortunate that the volume of the "Heroes of the Reformation" series devoted to Cranmer could be entrusted to such competent hands as those of Professor Pollard of University College, London. Already, by his studies of Henry VIII. and England under Protector Somerset, and by his articles in the *Cambridge Modern History* and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. Pollard has shown himself a careful student of the English Reformation. He has to bear with the other authors of the present series the burden of its somewhat oppressive title. It is bad enough to have to suit one's self to the requirements of any serial publication; but to supply "heroes" in just sufficient quantity to fit into the publisher's scheme is more than could be expected of editor or writers. This demand, to make a hero of Thomas Cranmer, has evidently weighed upon Mr. Pollard's scholarly conscience. He indicates his responsibility in the preface; he returns to it in the closing chapter, and all through he allows it to appear at frequent and suitable intervals.

The book is an apology, but it must be confessed that, in view of the conditions of the literature of the English Reformation, hardly any other attitude is possible except that of denunciation. It is safe to say that there is no point in the whole movement, from the early years of Henry VIII. to the last years of Elizabeth, which is not a matter of bitter controversy. The very essence of the Reformation itself is the subject most violently discussed. Anglicans and Roman Catholics are united only in their determination to see no connection between earlier religious opposition in England and the separation from Rome. The Anglican is fiercely determined to magnify all the elements of ecclesiastical continuity, and to minimize all doctrinal divergences. The Catholic is bent upon bringing out every personal incident, such as the characters of Henry and Queen Mary, the greed of a hungry nobility, the corrupting influence of Lutheran preaching, and the beneficent administration of the pre-Reformation Church. The historian who is clear as to the demands of his science has to steer his way between these hopeless conflicts. If he is bound to have no thesis to prove, he is none the less compelled to think and to act under the rule of certain principles, and to give account of these frequently to himself and to his readers. Such principles Mr. Pollard has, and he lets us know from time to time what they are.

For example, he believes in a law of continuity more profound and more effective than the mere persistence of institutional forms, and he is persuaded that the Reformation in England rested upon a demand of the English people, going back to John Wicliffe. "It must not be forgotten," he says, "that the English Church in the sixteenth century assimilated little that had not been taught by the English Wicliffe." He quotes from Dr. Rashdall's sketch of Wicliffe to show that this is true, not merely in general, but in the essential details of both doctrinal and institutional change. That Government took the lead in these

changes does not alter the fact that they represented on the whole the sentiment of enlightened Englishmen, and that this sentiment was a growth, rooted in a persistent though latent Lollardism.

Another principle which Mr. Pollard lays down is the often-neglected rule that an historical event or an historical character is not to be judged in the light of subsequent events. It sounds a truism to say that no one can see into the future; and yet no canon of historical judgment is more often violated than this. We are, therefore, bound to remind ourselves again and again that those who guided the exceedingly complicated movement of the English Reform were always feeling their way in the dark from one step to the next, without a clearly defined policy, and without any assurance as to the kind or amount of support they were likely to receive. That, if any, is Mr. Pollard's leading idea. By it he explains the many contradictions in the action of the Government, not only of Henry, but of Edward and Mary as well. Here is found the key to his admiration for Henry the king in spite of his clear vision as to the—shall we say limitations?—of Henry the man. The man's lustful desire takes its place with the King's assertion of power, to make up his case as the defender of English right and English rule as against all comers.

Here is, of course, an echo of Mr. Froude, and it is refreshing in these days to hear a careful scholar venturing openly to praise that much berated champion of an unpopular figure. Mr. Pollard is not blind to the extraordinary freaks of "froudisme," but he frankly admires the equally remarkable grasp of an historical situation which of itself caused a sort of blindness as to details. His presentation is the more effective because it is so free from mere partisan passion. His chief interest is in the English Constitution, its definition, its continuity, and its defence. He cannot remind us too often that this is not even primarily a religious matter. Religion and politics could not in the sixteenth century be even thought of as divorced. The only question was as to their mutual relation. The Roman system had insisted on making the State subordinate to religion; now men were determined that, so far as England was concerned, the position should be reversed. Henceforth the State was to fix the character and the limits of religious practice. It was not a question in any one's mind of independence, but only of a change of masters, with such gains as that change might bring. That the King's lust for pleasure and for power gave the occasion for asserting the royal right with unprecedented energy is not denied; but, and here comes in another of Mr. Pollard's historical principles, the test of soundness in any great historical movement is to be found in its permanence. If the English Reformation had gone no deeper than Tudor lust and Tudor obstinacy, we may be quite sure that it could never have stood the test of Marian savagery and Stuart frivolity.

We have taken this line of comment because it is the line followed by Mr. Pollard in his treatment of Cranmer. His apparent dread or writing a hero-book has led him at times to somewhat obscure his central figure. At every stage he lays down for us the conditions of action and the canons of judgment, and then shows us how Cranmer fits into the situation. Like his royal mas-



ter, Cranmer is shown to us as a consistent opportunist; consistent, in that he had a clear view of evils ecclesiastical and an unwavering desire to amend them; opportunist, in that he was ready to utilize every turn of the political game for his great end, even though it cost him the appearance of consistency. He lent himself to Henry's schemes, especially to the Divorce—which Mr. Pollard carefully explains was not strictly a divorce—because he saw in this way the best promise of doing the things he thought best worth doing. He accepted the Royal Supremacy as likely to open the way to changes in practice that seemed to him desirable, and he went with the King in his prosecution of religious innovators in order that he might make it as little of a persecution as possible. All this sounds, of course, quite different from being the pliant tool of a half-mad despot; and yet the fact remains that he did the King's will, and had to bend himself almost double in the doing of it.

To make Cranmer's case better, Mr. Pollard goes as far as he can in justifying Henry's actions; but it is a pretty hard strain on our credulity if we must believe, even on Mr. Pollard's showing, in the belated scruples of the King's conscience as to his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, or in the wonderfully prompt twinges that beset him as to his marriage with Anne Boleyn because her sister had been his mistress. It is going pretty far into the realm of prophecy to say: "Had she [Jane Seymour] lived, she would have saved Henry and the English Church from the serio-comic episode of Anne of Cleves, and from the tragedy of Catherine Howard." So long as Cranmer was on hand, there could not have been any difficulty in finding ways to dispose of Jane Seymour, if the royal fancy had flitted in any other directions, or if religious politics had seemed to make this desirable. So easily workable a conscience as this of Henry might well serve Cranmer's turn, but it can hardly command the sympathy of Mr. Pollard's twentieth-century readers.

The most convincing portions of the book are those which treat of Cranmer's positive contributions to the Reformation, especially his work on the two editions of the Book of Common Prayer and the English Bible. In both these permanent achievements Cranmer's qualities of adjustability and compromise came into play. They were tasks requiring great nicety of verbal selection, and the widest learning, so that the choice might offend as few partisans on either side as possible. In the case of the Prayer-Book, the problem was to supply a ritual in the vernacular for all the people of England; for we have to remember that no party was as yet ready to face the alternative of a divided or an independent Church. The ritual must avoid the extremes of Catholic doctrine, such, for example, as transubstantiation, but it must equally avoid all question as to the "really" supernatural method and effect of such sacraments as it chose to recognize. That Cranmer succeeded in this attempt is proved by the persistence of his ritual practically unchanged until now. So with the English Bible. Mr. Pollard shows very clearly that the real question here was no longer whether the English people were to have a Bible of their own, but whether this English Bible should or should not repro-

duce, according to the best light of modern scholarship, what was in the originals. This had been the crime of Tyndale—that he had tried to make a really scientific translation; but Mr. Pollard shows that the first authorized version in England was largely based upon Tyndale's work, and that it was Cranmer who succeeded in getting it approved by Henry. In a word, the picture of Cranmer we have here is that of a serious, learned, and conscientious reformer, concerned before all else in carrying out certain definite measures, and willing to overlook all other considerations. It is not precisely an heroic figure; by the side of Thomas More it dwindles into insignificance. And yet, if we compare the constructive value to England of Cranmer's work with that of More, it appears infinitely greater.

The supreme test of character came to Cranmer, as it did to More, when he and the Government were no longer in accord. Mr. Pollard here again resorts to general principles, and does what he can to explain his hero's wild recantations of everything he had professed during his long life. Psychologically we may agree with him that Cranmer was no weaker than any one of the repentant recanters from Peter to Galileo, but the same psychological law was upon More and Latimer and Ridley and Huss—whom Mr. Pollard includes in his list of momentary apostates—and these men gladly faced death rather than dishonor. The heroism of Cranmer's end must always be obscured by the thought that he would have avoided his fate if he could by a craven infidelity to himself.

Mr. Pollard writes pleasantly, with a clear arrangement of his subject, and a fair sense of proportion. Occasionally he presumes too much knowledge on the part of his readers, as, for instance, though he often refers to the Six Articles of 1539, he nowhere tells us what they were. The illustrations, mainly from contemporary prints or portraits, are of the same order of excellence which has marked the other volumes of this series.

#### VEBLEN'S BUSINESS ENTERPRISE.

*The Theory of Business Enterprise.* By Thorstein Veblen. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904.

This inquiry into the nature of business enterprise differs, the author tells us, from other discussions of the same general range of facts in respect of its point of departure, or point of view, which is that given by the business man's work. "This choice of a point of view is itself given by the current economic situation, in that the situation plainly is primarily a business situation."

What, then, is this "current situation"? It is the modern industrial system, the characteristic features of which, and the forces by which it dominates modern culture, are the machine process and investment for a profit. Not all industry is carried on by machinery, but in some industries the machine process is paramount, and they dominate the rest. Nor is all industrial activity "carried on by the rule of investment for profits, but an effective majority of the industrial forces are organized on that basis. . . . Those elements in the industrial world that take the initia-

tive and exert a far-reaching coercive guidance in matters of industry, go to their work with a view to profits on investment, and are guided by the principles and exigencies of business." This language we interpret to mean that the "business man," especially the business man "of wide and authoritative discretion," controls the whole field of industry.

In spite of the oracular manner in which these propositions are enunciated, it is difficult to find anything original in their point of view. It is probable that Adam and Eve sewed their fig leaves with some kind of a needle and thread, and endeavored to diminish the sweat of their brows by the use of natural forces, as soon as they were turned out of the Garden. Some philosophers have even distinguished man as an animal using tools, or machines, in order to supply his wants with less pain than he felt when he depended on his muscles. In this propensity, it has been suggested, may be found an explanation of the "view to profits on investment." Capital is itself a tool; it consists literally of tools; and it is employed to obtain a greater satisfaction than would be obtained without it. This gain in results is essentially profit, and the mental state of the capitalist who makes a new investment is like that of the farmer who buys a new plough. It is preposterous to contend that the desire of profits is a modern phenomenon. Before the days of Solomon men were busied in buying, and selling, and getting gain, and Adam Smith had reason for asserting the existence of a natural propensity to barter.

As we read further, however, we find that the "machine process" means more than the use of machines. They are mistaken who suppose that one mechanical process has no relation to another. There is a "running maintenance of interstitial adjustments," and an "unremitting requirement of quantitative precision," which lead to a "gradual pervading enforcement of uniformity," a "standardization" of tools. Men have discovered that when rails are laid four feet eight and one-half inches apart, the axles of cars must have a corresponding length; that it is necessary to have rivets fit rivet-holes; and that shoes and clothes must be made with reference to the dimensions of typical human beings. Trains are operated according to time-schedules, and the traveller must plan to start at a specified minute. All this is true enough, and it is also true that the demands of consumers are to a great extent so uniform that supplies can be produced of a correspondingly uniform character. In this production, too, there must be great uniformity in the services rendered by laborers, in the quantity of muscular force which they exert, and in the time during which it is exerted.

But this is only one view of the situation. Middle-aged people can remember when illuminating gas was a luxury, and when most households depended on candles and whale oil; when there were few railroads and no tramways. Comparatively young men can recall the days when, so far as light and power were concerned, electricity was a mere curiosity of the laboratory. It is true that the fundamental wants of mankind are uniform. We shall always hunger and thirst, and crave warmth when we are cold, and light when it is dark. But in supplying the means for gratifying these de-

fires, the extent of diversification has been prodigious. Invention and improvement proceed with incredible celerity. Myriads of men are doing the same thing day after day; but there are thousands who are incessantly contriving new methods of doing these things, and that which they have done is but earnest of what they shall do. It is easy to talk of the "industrial detriment suffered from any derangement of the accustomed working relations." As a matter of fact, such derangement is both the cause and the necessary result of industrial progress. To "disturb industry" has a bad sound; but it is what intelligent capitalists and intelligent workmen are constantly striving to accomplish, to the great advancement of human welfare.

The impression no doubt prevails that the "machine process" is unfavorable to the existence of independent craftsmen. We hear so much of colossal industries that we are prone to believe that most workmen are gathered into great factories, and that the use of machinery results in "a standardization of the workman's intellectual life in terms of mechanical process." Mr. Edward Atkinson, who has a knack of bringing out facts ignored by the public, has recently investigated the industries of the city of Boston, and tells us that small establishments are predominant, and that the number of independent craftsmen is large and increasing. The distribution of electrical power is favorable to this process of dispersion, and we cannot admit that the use of machinery, even as a part of a comprehensive process, has the moral effects here attributed to it. We must have evidence before we accept the statement that "it is a matter of common notoriety that the modern industrial populations are improvident in a high degree, and are apparently incapable of taking care of the pecuniary details of their own life." This dictum is applied "not only to factory hands, but also to the general class of highly skilled mechanics." We need proof that "the modern workman cannot advantageously own a home." When such premises are assumed, any one can draw startling conclusions.

In order to take what it is not unfair to call the sensational view of modern industry, it is necessary to contrast it with earlier conditions. We must confine ourselves to mentioning a few of the propositions here advanced. In former days the business man had in view not profit, but a livelihood. The modern business man does not stake "his values on the dimly foreseen conjunctures of the seasons." (Publish it not in New York, tell it not in the streets of Chicago!) What he wants to do is to make money; his predecessor wanted to make goods—"an unsophisticated productive efficiency was the prime element of business success." The interests of the modern business man are dissociated from the interests of the community; he loves to fish in troubled waters. "Honesty is the best policy" was the maxim in the past, but it does not apply in the present. Nowadays, true depression in business is not caused by crop failures; for twenty years business has been in a chronic state of depression. Fortunately, depression is not such a serious matter, for the volume of business and the quantity of

production may increase nearly as fast as in good times.

We have space for but one more of these illustrations of the "assertatory method." Some have maintained that production is increased by the use of credit; but, according to our author, they are mistaken. "Borrowed funds do not increase the aggregate industrial equipment." Borrowers do not offer full security; lenders accept assets which are not liquid. Loans on stocks, goods, and real estate represent "nothing more substantial than a fictitious duplication of material items that cannot be drawn into the industrial process." "It is a business truism that no banking house could at a moment meet all its outstanding obligations." Probably the conception which the author is trying to express is that debts are not to be counted in estimating the wealth of the community. But to say that borrowed funds do not increase industrial equipment is to ignore the function of credit. Some men have more funds than they can use; others have less; and funds productively used, as compared with idle funds, are a positive addition to wealth. The fact that all the debts of the world cannot be paid on a moment's notice, is of no more consequence than the fact that the great cities would be brought at once to starvation if all the railroads ceased their operations, or that all the cars in the country would not begin to hold the passengers if everybody wanted to ride at the same time.

Although borrowed funds do not increase the industrial equipment, continues our author, they cause the capital employed to be overrated "by the amount of the aggregate deposits and loans on collateral," and this overrating swells the business capital. Capital and credit extension are not distinguishable; capital is equivalent to capitalization. "Trading, under the old régime, was a traffic in goods; under the new régime there is added, as the dominant and characteristic trait, trading in capital." This means trading in "securities," or what is known as gambling in stocks. The "business men," or managers of corporations, if they are shrewd, as they commonly are, will aim to manage the affairs of their concerns with a view to making money by causing the prices of their stocks to fluctuate, not with a view to the welfare of the properties under their control. These business men are not truly speculators; they deal in "sure things"; they are "insiders"; it is the property of outsiders which they bandy about. According to this theory, business consists in watering stock, in capitalizing intangible assets, in "unloading" on the public, in wrecking corporations, and in combining and reorganizing them.

That much "business" of this kind goes on is known to a public that reads of "frenzied finance." But the evidence is insufficient to support the theory that such finance is typical of modern business. Stock-jobbing is on a vaster scale than ever before, but the wealth and the legitimate trade of the country have enormously increased. Many rich and unprincipled men are prominent, but this was probably true when Tyre and Sidon flourished. There has never been a golden age of commercial morality; in the good old times men were quite as unscrupulous and dishonest as now. There are, proportionately, as many producers

trying to give buyers their money's worth, as many managers trying to do well by their stockholders, as many bankers trying to supply sound securities to their customers, as ever there were. Such a theory as is here set forth may impress the readers of sensational magazines; but it is a travesty of economics, and an unjust aspersion of our business morality. It may affect the imagination of the half-educated by its ponderous platitudes, its obscure and complicated presentation of simple ideas, even by the barbarisms of the author's style. It may apply to certain notorious phases of modern financial activity; it fails in its assumption that these phases are typical of modern business.

*The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904.* By Algernon Graves, F.S.A. Volume I. Abbayne to Carrington. London: Henry Graves & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1905. 4to.

This is an admirable labor, generously executed; to be fully appreciated only when we learn that it reproduces but a part of fifty manuscript volumes by the indefatigable compiler, embracing also the catalogues of the early Society of Artists and the Free Society of British Artists, the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colors, the Grosvenor Gallery, the New Gallery, "and various minor public exhibitions." Each volume will have prefixed to it a portrait of one of the successive presidents of the Royal Academy (here, Sir Joshua in a rather poor mezzotint), and blank leaves following each letter for use in continuance by any one so minded. The exhibitors, of course, are not wholly British. Rosa Bonheur appears in this section, along with the Americans E. A. Abbey and Eugene Benson. Women enter on equal footing with the men from the beginning; we have observed 1773 (painting), 1778 (miniature), 1799 (wax), etc. There are two columns of Anonymous, with and without initials. Where portrait subjects are anonymously designated, Mr. Graves identifies as he is able, and in this he has to some extent the aid of Horace Walpole, whose annotated catalogues he has had the privilege of using. The addresses of the artists are copied from the catalogues, and there are truly Bohemian changes in some instances. This is no small service. The price is given if advertised. The titles are repeated in full up to 1800, and what this sometimes means is evidenced in the case of Sir George Beaumont's canvas of 1799:

"Portrait of Elizabeth Woods of Creeting Hills, Suffolk, born of respectable parents in the year 1710, and now living. This singular character, having been by degrees deprived of the greatest part of her house, rather than quit possession, persevered in residing with her two daughters in the remaining ruins, an open chimney and an oven, that served as their storeroom and wardrobe, having nothing to defend themselves from the weather, in a high and bleak situation, but a screen of bushes, which they shifted according to the direction of the wind. Here they lived sixteen years. At the time this sketch was made, the humanity of the neighbors had added a slight shed, and they are, at present, protected from the inclemency of the weather."

This is a true Wordsworthian situation for poetic moralizing, and a real literary



interest is evoked by finding in the exhibition of 1810, by the same artist ("Beaumont, Friend!"), "A Storm—Peel Castle," which was to inspire one of the gems of English verse:

"I was thy neighbor once, thou rugged Pile!"

Another literary interest emerges in connection with W. A. Barron's "Stoke Church," 1775, since Walpole notes: "With Mr. Gray's tomb, now at Strawberry Hill." For if we turn to Mrs. Paget Toynbee's current edition of the Letters, we read in that to Gray's biographer, the Rev. William Mason, of May 7, 1775, from Strawberry Hill (vol. ix., p. 195):

"I have been at all the exhibitions, and do not find that we are got an inch nearer Raphael than we were. . . . My brother has given me the view of Gray's tomb and churchyard, very prettily done, and inspired by Gray's own melancholy. I have hung it here in my favorite blue room, as a companion to Mme. de Sévigné's Hôtel de Carnavalet, and call them my Penserose and Allegro."

Walpole's annotations are numerous in the case of H. W. Bunbury, and are both critical and laudatory. The art did not solely engage him. Of Jacob Bonneau he remarks that this painter was famous for singing broken English like a Frenchman.

One useful result of this catalogue is in showing how art ran in families, as in that of Bone, which carried on enamel painting in generations ranging from 1781 to 1851. But, of the thirteen artists bearing this name that might have been included in the National Dictionary of Biography, only three actually appear (at least in the index). This comparison, extensively carried out, would afford a pretty picture of the permanent and the transient in Royal Academy reputations.

*Antarctica: or, Two Years amongst the Ice of the South Pole.* By Nils Otto G. Nordenskjöld and Johan Gunnar Andersson. Macmillan. 1905. 8vo, pp. xx., 608. Maps and illustrations.

At the International Geographical Congress of London in 1895, one result of the increased interest in the Antarctic region was a plan for its exploration by the co-operation of European nations. As this finally worked out, England, Germany, and Sweden took part. To the first was assigned the investigation of the tracts south of the Pacific; to Germany, those south of the Indian Ocean; and to Sweden, the lands and seas lying south of South America and the Atlantic. It was proposed that the several expeditions should leave Europe during the summer of 1901 and spend the following season at some fixed station in the Antarctic region, thus affording a series of comparable meteorological and magnetic observations by which some general ideas of the Antarctic conditions might be had; in addition to such geographical data as might be obtained.

It was no small matter to gather in Sweden from private sources the funds necessary for such a distant expedition. Dr. Otto Nordenskjöld, son of the late illustrious commander of the *Vega* expedition, by unwearied exertions and the aid of others interested in Polar work finally succeeded, though in point of equipment the Swedish expedition could not vie with those of England and Germany under Governmental patronage. The vessel selected was

the *Antarctic*, which had already been used on several previous expeditions. The vessel was in charge of Capt. C. A. Larsen, well known as the first discoverer of fossils in the Antarctic lands and for his explorations in that region in 1892 and 1893. Nordenskjöld planned to have his party landed and for the vessel to withdraw, and, under the direction of Dr. Andersson, to engage in scientific work outside of the icy region, until the time came for the party to be relieved. Dr. Andersson, on account of other engagements, could not join the expedition until the return of the ship to the Falkland Islands after landing the wintering party.

The expedition was planned to leave Sweden early in the autumn of 1901 for the South Shetlands, and thence to the partially explored lands already known through the investigations of the *Belgica* expedition and the voyages of Larsen. Somewhere in this region the winter quarters were to be established, where Nordenskjöld and six others would remain. The ship would then return to the Falklands and Tierra del Fuego to spend the season in scientific work there and in the vicinity of South Georgia. On the return of spring, the wintering party was to be called for, the summer spent in energetic scientific work, and the return to Sweden accomplished by the spring of 1903. Somewhat similar plans were laid out by the two other expeditions.

The Antarctic summer of 1902-03 proved, however, the coldest, and the ice conditions the worst, ever known since explorations began in that part of the world. The German expedition succeeded, at the very last moment, and, by the most extreme exertions, in extricating itself from the ice and returning home. The English expedition was icebound and obliged to remain for a second year. When the *Antarctic* reached the vicinity, it was found impossible to penetrate even as far as the Swedish wintering station. Those who read the reports of the *Belgica* expedition will remember that their explorations chiefly comprised new lands on either side of a strait, now known as the Gerlache Channel, extending in a northeast and southwest general direction, south of the South Shetland Islands. The lands to the northwest of the channel were chiefly rather small islands, while those to the southeast comprised the continuation of Graham Land, Danco Land, etc., which the explorations of Larsen had shown to form a peninsula, or a range of large islands connected by a continuous ice-cap.

The *Antarctic* reached the extreme northeast end of this peninsula, where the channel named after the ship separates the former land from the Joinville group of islands, connecting the sea to the northward with Erebus and Terror Gulf to the south. As it seemed impossible to force the ship through the ice between this point and the wintering place, Dr. Andersson and two companions were landed with a sledge and supplies at a point called Hope Bay, whence it was thought they could reach the station over the ice; while the ship proceeded to the eastward, hoping to find sufficiently open water to work her way through the pack in that direction. Dr. Andersson's party reached Vega Island about half way to their destination, when it became evident, from the broken condition of the ice with leads of open

water, that they could not hope to reach the wintering station. So they were obliged to turn back, and make such provision for wintering at Hope Bay as their outfit permitted.

Meanwhile, the ship proceeded to the east and south, where she was nipped in the ice, crushed, and sunk, leaving Capt. Larsen and his party on the floe, from which, by great exertions and after no little peril, they succeeded in reaching Paulet Island, the southeastern of the Joinville group, where they were obliged to winter without being able to communicate with either Andersson or Nordenskjöld. Fortunately, the seals and penguins afforded a sufficient supply of fresh meat, and blubber for fuel, so that each of the parties was able to pull through the winter without serious difficulty, if with little comfort. On touching at Buenos Ayres to complete their outfit in 1901, the party, at the request of the Argentine Government, had been augmented by Lieut. J. M. Sobral, of the Argentine navy, who proved an excellent and agreeable comrade. During the winter of 1902, in company with Sobral, Nordenskjöld made a sledge journey over the ice to the base of the peninsula of Graham Land, where a latitude of 66° south was reached in about longitude 62° west. This was the extreme southerly attainment of the expedition.

When the vessel did not arrive at the time due, Nordenskjöld's party prepared itself for the second wintering. In the month of October a sledge expedition was again undertaken, this time along the eastern shores of the peninsula in a northerly direction, resulting in the discovery of a large channel between Ross Island and the mainland. More unexpected and remarkable was the encounter with Andersson and his comrades, who had been working southwesterly from their wintering place, and who returned to the main station with Nordenskjöld. On the 8th of November, 1903, the explorers were gladdened by the arrival of the *Uruguay*, a relief ship fitted out by the Argentine Government, under the command of Commodore Julian Irizar, who, with unequalled audacity, had brought his unprotected iron vessel into the very jaws of the floe at Seymour Island. Full of the excitement of preparations for immediate departure, no man slept that night. About eleven in the evening the miraculous happened. Larsen and five companions arrived from Paulet Island! They were as men risen from the dead, since no one had heard anything of ship or men for a year, and even their whereabouts, if living, was a matter of the purest conjecture.

The embarkation; the rescue of the remaining members of the expedition at Paulet Island, diminished only by a single death; their successful return and triumphant reception at Buenos Ayres; the journey home and their enthusiastic greeting on arrival—for these we must refer the reader to the work itself. The story is vividly told, and the quaint English of the translator rather adds to than detracts from the reader's enjoyment and interest. The scientific results will form a series of separate reports. Besides the coöperative set of comparative magnetic and meteorological observations for two years, and the additions to geographical and zoological knowledge, the most important result of the expedition is the discovery of a rich

Jurassic fossil flora, a still richer cretaceous marine fauna with numerous ammonites, and, finally, tertiary remains, including bones of a fossil penguin much larger than any now living. These collections will give us some idea of the evolution of Antarctica, and its bearing on the distribution of life in the southern hemisphere, a matter of the highest interest.

The illustration of the work is excellent; the index and maps are all that could be asked. The leader of the expedition has solved the ever-present problem of how can a man write a book on the polar regions, after all that has already been printed, which shall contain anything fresh and interesting; and we tender him on this, as on other accounts, our respectful congratulations.

*A History of the United States.* By Edward Channing. Volume I. The Planting of a Nation in the New World. 1600-1660. The Macmillan Co. 1905. Pp. xl, 550.

The appearance of a new historical work, however elaborate, is no longer an unusual event, nor is it always, indeed, an important one. A generation of specialists, harvesting monographs by the cartload, has taught us to look with suspicion upon the scholar who does not early choose and forever assiduously cultivate his own small plot, or one who ventures to write the whole history of his country in extended form with the ideals of a man of letters and the conscience of a scholar. Half insensibly we have been led to suppose that such works were to be replaced by manuals, dictionaries, and coöperative histories, which already have begun to appear in more than sufficient numbers. When, therefore, in the face of present tendencies, a first-rate scholar proposes single-handed to write in eight octavo volumes the history of America, the appearance of his initial volume is indeed significant.

For some time it has been clear to scholars that most works on American history are open to two fundamental objections. We have regarded ourselves as a chosen people, whose history, being self-determining, contains within itself its own sufficient explanations; with minds fixed upon our supposed present greatness, we have endeavored to explain events by their results rather than by their causes. With a sure grasp of his subject, Professor Channing has fixed upon the reverse of this as his guiding principle. "I have considered the colonies as parts of the English Empire, as having sprung from that political fabric, and as having simply pursued a course of institutional evolution unlike that of the branch of the English race which remained behind in the old homeland" (Preface, v.). "The guiding idea of the present work is to view the subject as the record of an evolution, and to trace the growth of the nation from the standpoint of that which preceded, rather than from that which followed" (Preface, vi.).

The satisfactory realization of these two principles constitutes the distinguishing characteristic of the first volume. That the author has not treated the colonies in isolation is clear at every point; better still, he has not scrupled, where it seemed needful, to make English or Continental conditions the point of departure, touching

upon the colonies, as it were, incidentally. This is especially the case in dealing with the events preceding the settlement of Virginia, to which nearly a third of the whole volume is devoted. We do not know of a better brief discussion of the discovery of America, nor any so good of the intimate relation between the English-Spanish commercial rivalry of the sixteenth century and the English colonizing enterprises of the seventeenth. To Professor Channing the "Genesis of the United States" means primarily the economic conditions in England that led certain classes to seek the New World, and the "Beginnings of New England" are to be found in the rise of seventeenth-century Puritanism—a movement, we are reminded, that was mainly social, and sharply distinguished from Elizabethan separation. Likewise, the chapter on "The Colonies in 1660" is an attempt to indicate the extent to which frontier conditions in New England and the South had already differentiated the institutions of the New World from those of the mother country.

The other principle which has guided Professor Channing, while a well-recognized canon of historical method, needs to be more rigorously applied to the study of American history. Hitherto, students, with some notable exceptions, have too intently regarded the colonies as embryo States. With the great American "experiment" in mind, Virginia becomes, for one writer, the "First Republic"; with the Declaration of Independence sticking in the fringe of consciousness, another readily finds that Massachusetts had already begun the Revolution in the seventeenth century; a third, entertaining preconceived theories of sectionalism, perceives a profound significance in the words "Puritan" and "Cavalier," and is ready to trace the origin of the civil war to the opposing religious and material motives that actuated the settlers of New England and the Southern colonies. Professor Channing, on the other hand, has been content to elucidate what went into the colonies, trusting to find in that the sufficient explanation of what ultimately came out of them.

The most striking result of the rigid adherence to this method is that the political institutions of the colonies are dismissed with a brief, though often a discriminating, treatment. The analysis of the colonial charters is of the slightest; the origins of local government are barely suggested; the persistence of the Virginia Assembly after the overthrow of the charter is assumed, but not traced out in any detail; the evolution of the Massachusetts government from the company is summarized in masterly fashion, but in the briefest possible space. It is significant, perhaps, of Professor Channing's attitude that no use is made of Professor Osgood's special studies of the charters, and no more than a mention here and there is made of his recent volumes, though the fact that they appeared only recently may have made any real use of them impossible. For Professor Channing the colonies were primarily commercial, and incidentally religious, ventures, but in no important sense were they political societies. That they ultimately became important political societies, he will as a matter of course admit; but meanwhile it is unhistorical to ascribe to them a political quality which was apparent only after the

event. Such, at any rate, is the point of view of Professor Channing as we understand it; and such undoubtedly is the true point of view. Nevertheless, we feel sure that when the eighteenth century is reached, it will be necessary to analyze the charters and the governmental organization of the colonies much more carefully, in order to exhibit effectively the real character of the Revolution. That, however, can doubtless be done more conveniently in a subsequent volume.

Professor Channing, it is needless to say, has not written his history "from the sources," in the strict meaning of that phrase; it would, however, be a serious mistake to infer that the present volume is not a work of very excellent scholarship. The bibliographical notes at the close of each chapter reveal a comprehensive and discriminating mastery of the sources of the subject. The footnotes, while not extensive, are always adequate, and make it obvious that the secondary accounts have been tested and checked at every point by careful study of the original material. The most enduring impression which Professor Channing's work leaves upon the mind, in this respect, is, indeed, the sense of mastery. One nowhere feels that the subject has been "read up"; one never fears that the author is in danger of being submerged in his material. Nor, fortunately, does excellence of scholarship in this case involve the necessity of slovenly English. Professor Channing's style, if it does not intoxicate, at least does not weary. It follows the subject; it permits one to tell the exact truth. The narration moves easily along, without haste and without rest, devoid of ornament, but not without its quiet humor at times, or now and then a biting epigram. Dramatic opportunities are often suggested (cf. pp. 105, 110), but the author resists the temptation, if, indeed, it is a temptation, to make much of them. Everything considered, it is a style excellently adapted to an extended and scholarly narrative of the nation's life.

There are many things in this volume which call for particular mention. It would be a pleasure to comment on the sane reaction from Mr. Brown's deification of the Virginia Company, the independence of judgment exhibited in dealing with Roger Williams and Rhode Island, or the disinclination of the author to make use of technical jargon. There is no "reversion" to the Germanic mark; there is not even an "expansion" of Massachusetts. The very excellent account of Spanish exploration, the minimizing of the difference between "Puritan" and "Cavalier" colonists, the very suggestive discussion of Puritanism—these, also, did space permit, would furnish food for the reviewer. But to do justice to the book it is necessary to read it, and that is undoubtedly what all students of American history will do while awaiting the subsequent volumes, which, we may hope, will appear at intervals not too greatly separated.

*Rome.* Painted by Alberto Pisa. Text by M. A. R. Tucker and Hope Malleson. London: Black; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905.

The present book on Rome must be considered chiefly on the merits of its colored illustrations, which are for the greater part



well chosen as subjects, and treated in a picturesque manner, although, as in most instances of the three-color process, there are many failures in the rendering of the delicate tints of sunlit skies, masses of blossom, and other detail. It is evidently the broadest and more definite effects and the simplest treatment which are most telling in these reproductions, and the artists who work for the series should take into consideration the shortcomings of the process. Besides the monuments of Rome, its gardens and villas, its churches and cloisters, all more or less well known, Alberto Pisa has given very characteristic views of the Roman Campagna from Tivoli, and Anticoli, and Subiaco, and interesting bits of medieval houses in those ancient towns, besides many drawings of the Sagro Speco, the monastery of Saint Benedict at Subiaco, and types of bird vendors, gleaners, peasants, beggars, well known to the traveller as constituting the local color and much of the actual charm of the Eternal City.

To write anything new or significant about Rome is no easy task, so many books have exhausted the subject from every point of view. The present writers skim lightly over the indispensable chapters of its historical aspect, from its origin down to the present time, deriving their data from authoritative sources; but the reader will find their own personal impressions formed by long years of sojourn in Rome of greater interest, for their experience seems to have extended through three papacies, during which time they had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the different classes of the Roman people, and of studying the Roman question in a liberal and detached spirit. In the estimate of the development of the Italian character, our authors note that feudalism, scholasticism, the spirit of chivalry, and Puritanism—four factors which had so much to do in the making of political, intellectual, and moral life in other European countries—never left any impress on Italy, too radically democratic to tolerate feudalism, too open-minded to be attracted to scholasticism, and too self-interested and irresponsible to follow the chivalry of the Frank or the Puritanism of the Anglo-Saxon. Gebhart esteems the greatest Italian gift as "le sens très vif des réalités," a vivid hold on the real, shown in their freedom from hypocrisy and hatred of shame, their desire to see things exactly as they are, recognizing the crudities of sense without concealment, and never establishing lofty ideals too far above them for attainment. Italian development was not on the side of character and conduct, but purely intellectual; to quote our author:

"Italian civilization is imperialistic and social, not individualistic. There is a greater sense of public decorum (as distinguished, however, from private decency) than among us, and more sacrifice of the individual to society. One consequence of this is that there is less of that eccentricity which is the individualism of the poorly endowed; less personal initiative; less enterprise, and nothing of that spirit of adventure which is the Anglo-Saxon's romance."

In quite recent times we are told that it is usual for Italians to attribute their political difficulties to the individualist spirit; but it is rather the want of cohesion and egotism which is at fault.

On the other hand, family life holds a more conspicuous place in Italy than else-

where. The sacrifices which Italian parents make for their children are considerable, and breed in return a feeling of devotion and reverence which continues through life. One sees in Italy the sons of noble families, with their wives and children, living under the same roof, each having separate apartments in the family palace, all contriving to live under the supremacy of the head of the house. An Italian father cannot alienate his property by leaving it to a stranger; his sense of obligation to those he brings into the world necessitates his providing for his sons equally.

The book under review gives a very graphic account of the street life of the Roman people, domestic service and its difficulties, the Roman nobility and their idiosyncrasies, the relations of the Italian court and the Vatican, and the Roman question in all its phases. All these matters are treated of in a free and easy style, without any pretensions to finality of judgment or complete accuracy; but it seems difficult for English people, however broad-minded, to test foreign countries and their ways by any standard but that of their own. Hence comparisons which become wearisome, though, in this book, strange to say, they are generally unfavorable to the Anglo-Saxon race.

*Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements.* Edited by Booker T. Washington. D. Appleton & Co. 1905.

Externally, the work of Mr. Washington in the present volume is limited to a fifteen-page introduction. Though his name appears on the cover and title-page as "editor," he expressly disclaims any such editorial revision as had been intended, since the preliminary work of his executive secretary, Mr. Emmett J. Scott, had been so well done as to leave nothing more necessary. And yet the reader will close the book with the impression that in a very vital sense Mr. Washington has written it all. It is the distinctive mark of a great educator that his impress upon the mind of a really intelligent pupil is a powerful element in the thinking of that pupil for ever after. A group of seventeen autobiographical sketches, contributed to this volume by Tuskegee graduates in as many different callings, furnishes just so many striking proofs that, by this test, Mr. Washington is a great educator. The spirit of Tuskegee is in them all, and a most excellent and hopeful spirit it is.

We are told by some that the inevitable result of the work of this institution is simply to fill its students with self-conceit and unfit them for the lowly positions in life to which their racial inheritance naturally assigns them. There is hopeful enthusiasm in each of these brief autobiographies, but it would be hard to point out any unmistakable traces of the pompous self-conceit which a little learning does sometimes give to a small nature, whether wrapped in a black skin or a white. And the hopeful enthusiasm is abundantly justified. Here is a negro boy almost at the very bottom of the scale in the necessities and apparent opportunities of life. By some mere accident the name and work of Booker Washington come to his ears and waken a desire for something higher than his present state of existence. Penniless, ignorant of the very names of the most ele-

mentary studies which he is to pursue, utterly untrained in the ordinary decencies of life, he finds his way to Tuskegee, is put into the night school because he must work with his hands by day in order to pay his bills; finally saves up enough to get into the day school, gets habits of neatness, thrift, self-reliance, and self-respect from his surroundings, and goes forth at last to plant the seeds of all these good things in some benighted neighborhood of his own people, where he sees the seed taking root, growing, and bearing fruit after its kind all around him. Why shouldn't he be hopeful and enthusiastic? Such is about the typical career that each of these seventeen sketches pictures to the reader, and every one of them so stamped with the brand of sincerity that only the wilfully blind can fail to see. And yet this is the very work that some people are telling us is going to spoil the negroes, unfit them for their part in life, and make the race problem only harder to solve than before! We wish that every intelligent person in the land, black or white, might read these autobiographies. No better philanthropic work could be done than the free circulation of two or three of them in tract form by hundreds of thousands.

It is a common thing to charge the negro with laziness and shiftlessness as a distinct and pronounced racial characteristic. The work of Tuskegee raises a question right here. In the early history of the Middle West, when few of the boys who might possibly be interested in college education had wealth, college after college was founded on what was called the manual-labor system, that ambitious young men might be able to get an education and pay their way at the same time by their earnings. In every such case the system speedily broke down, college farms and shops were disposed of, and other ways to help the needy were devised. From the very start Mr. Washington has been able to make manual labor by his students, for their immediate support as well as for the purpose of learning some way to future earning, a distinctive and highly successful feature of his school. Perhaps the laziness and shiftlessness of which we are prone to complain is not racial in its origin at all, but merely the result of discouraging and demoralizing conditions for which the white portion of the people is far the more at fault, and which it should be quick to aid in removing, now that a negro leader has so clearly pointed out the way.

The misconception that Mr. Washington regards mere manual training as all that any negro really needs, or is fit for, is emphatically dealt with in his general introduction:

"The danger, at present that most seriously threatens the success of industrial training, is the ill-advised insistence in certain quarters that this form of education should be offered to the exclusion of all other branches of knowledge. If the idea becomes fixed in the minds of the people that industrial education means class education, that it should be offered to the negro because he is a negro, and that the negro should be confined to this sort of education, then I fear serious injury will be done the cause of hand training."

The race needs leaders of its own blood, he insists, in all the higher walks of life, and must have its colleges for the training of those leaders as well as its industrial

institutes for the great mass of those who are to follow industrial pursuits.

Those who have a practical interest in the maintenance of this great work will find a brief and plain statement from the treasurer as to its resources and needs. Few realize the immense proportions to which the institution has grown. Its annual expenses are now about \$150,000, so that the endowment provided by Mr. Carnegie and others covers less than one-third of the necessary disbursements. On the present scale, about \$84,000 must be made up each year by special contributions from individuals and charitable organizations. It is needless to say that it takes an immense amount of energy to keep up the steady flow of so large a stream of income from such a source. Two million dollars should be added to the endowment, in order that this energy may be devoted more directly to the work itself. Any one who reads the autobiographies in this volume and learns just what personal contact with the leader means to the students of Tuskegee, will feel at once that it is not right that he should be compelled to absent himself so large a part of the time in order to secure financial support. We shall be much surprised if the circulation of this remarkable volume does not work a change in this respect. It is an unanswerable argument against the critics of the Tuskegee movement in particular and of the education of the negro in general.

*Following the Sun-Flag: A Vain Pursuit through Manchuria.* By John Fox, Jr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905.

The creator of 'The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come,' who is under bonds to write entertainingly, satisfies those bonds in this story of incompleteness. Desirous to see war, and too young for the shock of arms in our rebellion, he failed in his attempt to inspect the carnage in Manchuria, notwithstanding that other observers, who patiently played the game, finally absorbed as much as was good for them. He does not take kindly to the fact that in seven months he saw many interesting conditions, but not those that he started out to see. His gravest, and a fairly just, complaint is, that the Japanese authorities not merely procrastinated, but prevaricated. He charges that they held certain correspondents in Tokio for weeks and months, by giving them to understand that they should make themselves ready for immediate departure, with no intention of letting them go. It may be that the correspondent was less important in the eye of the General Staff than in his own; that the General Staff had in mind a definite point in the campaign before he was to be trusted with the troops, and the campaign may have been delayed; possibly, as one star differeth from another star in glory, to the acute Oriental eye the personal equations of all the visitors were not identical. Certainly we have seen that correspondents were at the crossing of the Yalu, the very earliest passage of arms. We do not defend duplicity, but Eastern exigencies may have required an exaggeration of Eastern ways. It is this want of frankness that was the fly in Mr. Fox's ointment, and he found all through the

Orient a painful contrast to his more familiar Cumberland mountaineers.

Barring that, we have attractive sketches; no finished picture, but the impression left upon strange eyes by glimpses of our almost antipodal friends. There were amusing and provoking episodes in our author's contact with officers after he did get into the field (but not on the firing line), notably one with a graduate of Yale; the ordinary surprises and discomforts of camp life for a novice, interesting to the victim, but of no earthly concern to others; a white horse with a weak back; an obstinate donkey, a damaged bicycle, an attentive servant. But it is hardly worth while to travel half around the world to make a record of these. The best reading is of the rhythmical click of the wooden getas,

Kara-ko, kara-ko, kara-ko;

whose notes on the stone platforms he finds to be F and D in F minor; of the charming maid of Miyanosho; the pathetic story of the Eurasian Kamura-san; and a memory of the "opal dream"—the Inland Sea. The two new items that we glean are, that "the height of the Japanese school children has increased three inches within the last ten years in the schools where the children sit in chairs instead of squatting on the floor" (p. 60), and that "many hundred young Chinamen are going over to Japan to get a military training. And yet, according to some observers, there is nothing doing in China—even on the part of Japan" (p. 185).

Mr. Fox in disgust left the field before the battle of Liao-Yang.

*Sociological Papers.* Published by the Sociological Society. Macmillan Co. 1905. 8vo. pp. 292.

*Foundations of Sociology.* By Edward A. Ross. Macmillan Co. 1905. 12mo. pp. 410.

"The Sociological Society was instituted [in London] in November, 1903. . . . Its aims are scientific, educational and practical. . . . It prosecutes its work by the means customary to an efficiently organized learned society." We commented last year upon Mr. Galton's brief paper on "Eugenics," a new name for an old study. It was first given at a meeting of this society, and is contained in this volume. The contributions by other members of the Society are well enough, but they evince no laborious research in producing them. The ideas of the essay called "Civics" by Professor Patrick Geddes (not the philologist) appear to us to be, as the Germans say, quite too "schematic," and too heavily loaded with misplaced imagery. One of the best papers is by Dr. Westermarck; but it really needed nothing beyond an ordinary acquaintance with men and women and some reading of books of travel to remark, what (with illustrative facts) constitutes the sum and substance of the piece, that a man's having a legal right to sell his wife or put her to death is no proof that the influence of women is *nil* (quite the other way, we should say); nor is this proved by the whole business of agriculture being in their hands. The one real addition to knowledge that the volume contains is by an outsider, Mr. Harold H. Mann. It is a minute account of life in the purely agricultural village of Ridgmount, where the population numbers 467, and where a large and increasing pro-

portion of the land is the property of the Duke of Bedford. The fullest statistics are given of every imaginable kind, and the individual circumstances of about one family out of every five are described. That is certainly a way of working from which some definite results may be hoped for. At any rate, it shows one indispensable qualification for valuable scientific work.

The interest of the volume is not confined to the papers; for the discussions that followed the readings are reported. In this way nearly eighty different speakers and writers have contributed to the publication, which has a curious interest for an American by showing what sort of timber goes to the construction of an English sociological body, and how English ways of working together differ from American ways. For example, Dr. Karl Pearson, who is not a member of the Society, seems to have attended the second meeting simply for the purpose of hearing Galton read his paper on Eugenics. There is no sign of his having had any *arrière-pensée*. But when he arrived, he was invited to take the chair, which would hardly have happened in this country; whereupon he accepted the honor, which an American would have avoided if it was going to oblige him to declare, as Professor Pearson did publicly declare, as soon as Mr. Galton had done reading, that he disapproved of the existence of such a society *in toto*. He said: "Frankly, I do not believe in groups of men and women who have each and all their allotted daily task creating a new branch of science," and continued for perhaps twenty lines of our columns in this vein, without any mitigation of his condemnation. Every man of science—certainly of any exact science—will say that there is a world of sound sense in the sentence we have quoted, abstractly considered. But, not to mention that (as a vague idea, at least) sociology is *not* a new science, Professor Pearson ought to have seen that the question was not whether the gentlemen and ladies who should join the Society were likely to be so very highly scientific, but whether they would not themselves, in the first place, get much good out of the meetings, and whether, in the second place, they would not create a centre of light and warmth that would surely radiate wholesome influences through the community. "If it adds to their satisfaction," he should have asked himself, "to tell themselves that they are members of 'an efficiently constituted learned body,' as their prospectus phrases it, will there be any harm in that at all comparable with the good that is likely to come of it?" When he went on to say that "the history of each great branch of science" shows that it was the creation of some one great man, he simply showed how impromptu and inconsiderate his speech was; for while some of the lesser divisions of science have so taken birth, such great sciences as astronomy, biology, chemistry, electricity, and the like were rooted in the observations of many men who had even less notion of scientific method by far than has the average member of a social-science association of to-day.

The very handsome volume has the appearance of being printed in six or seven different sizes of type, and we have been unable to guess why one man's remarks are printed in quite tiny letters and another's very prominently. We remark that an editorial from this journal appears in



type several sizes larger than that of its original dress, and that Professor Pearson is not reduced to quite the smallest type, such as individuals like M. Rodolphe Darreste de la Chavanne of the Institut de France, Prof. Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, Dr. Shadworth Hodgson, etc., have to content themselves with, while Mr. Victor V. Branford's rather tedious reply to Pearson appears in the very biggest letters, far beyond what are accorded to the President of the Society, the Right Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L., etc. Mr. Branford is the secretary.

That there are social sciences—the natural history of religion, economics, political science, the science of human heredity—there can be no doubt. Whether or not there already exists a general sociology apart from the social sciences, is a question too vague to be answered. It is certain that many writers, Dr. Lester Ward, Tarde, Stuckenberg, Lillienfeld, Letourneau, Kowalewski, Benjamin Kidd, Giddings, Alfred Fouillée, Poberty, De Greef—to name promiscuously a few out of many—have worked more or less intelligently in the direction of such a science, although with considerable variety in their conceptions of what it is to consist in. Professor Ross's volume is an endeavor of considerable force in the same direction, and may be particularly recommended as easy to read, brief, comprehensive, and introducing the reader to most of the conceptions of value. The author is a pretty close adherent of the views of Ward, and attributes a more exclusive importance to the conscious desires of individuals than the psychologists would generally admit. The book's greatest fault is the fault of most books on the subject that are now appearing—that of undervaluing work which is too abstract to meet the conditions of a real practical problem; a spirit which would have effectually prevented the development of physical science. It is worth mention that the phrase "race suicide" was first used in one of the papers which make up this heterogeneous volume.

*Au Japon et en Extrême-Orient.* Par Féli-cien Challaye. Paris: Armand Colin. 1905.

Among recent books of travel in the Orient, this little volume strikes a refreshingly independent note, as of one who describes what has been not only seen but studied. The author during two years (1889-1901) made his tour as *boursier de voyage* of the University of Paris, and his special quest was to examine European civilization as it reappears in the Orient. Modern Japan (with acknowledged debts to Chamberlain's "Things Japanese"), Indo-China, Batavia, and India are here subjected to a scholar's scrutiny from this particular point of view. M. Challaye points out that the Europeanization of Japan is not, as is often maintained, a general superficial effect. It is profound as far as it goes, but (and this is the author's chief contention) it is voluntarily limited. The Japanese have willed to accept European influence in certain respects; in others they have opposed and still oppose that influence. They still preserve the essential quality of their ancient civilization. The material life of the people, as expressed in home, furniture, clothing; the sentimental life, the customs, the habits, art and religion—these have scarcely been affected by Europe, and the islanders do not choose to have them Europeanized. Military science, tramways, electric lights, European clothes—these they make use of as tending to make themselves respected abroad. At heart they care for none of these, and as the Japanese with relief doffs his European dress the moment he can, so would he doff all the European innovations, and remains at heart true to old Japan.

A chapter on Vladivostok is rather amusing than instructive. The author, being "suspect," was not permitted to land at all, and the pith of this narrative lies in the naive expression of personal abuse and indignation at being thus treated. A Frenchman, ally of Russia, not allowed to visit a Russian port? Abominable! But the author has his consolation. He is "proud to endure a little of the persecution which crushes

free spirits in Russia." The chief word of interest, however, is a saying of Liebknecht to the author: "He repeated to me several times that Germany is essentially agreeable [doux], simple, and liberal; that Prussia alone is cruel, tyrannical, military, because it is in origin more Russian [id est Slav] than German."

Mr. Schelltema's recent letter to the *Nation* on archaeology in Java is, as it were, here extended into an essay, "De Batavia A Tosari," which includes a comprehensive study of the ruins of Boro Boedoe. Here, too, M. Challaye has something fresh and interesting to say in regard to the administration of the country:

"Even if one has quite a different idea of what ought to be the relations between the *métropole* [Holland] and the colony, one can but admire in several regards the sagacity of their polity. More than any other people they have respected local custom, . . . they have resisted the temptation of direct administration. . . . The European in power tries to preserve the appearance of a native government administered by natives. . . . The experience of the Dutch in Java . . . proves eloquently the superiority of a simple protectorate over an unintelligent, complicated, tyrannical, and expensive direct administration."

There is, perhaps, less that is striking in the essays on India, partly because of the way the subject is treated; "Some Men" and "Some Cities" are chapters likely to be sketchy. But even in the most discussed topics the author is not commonplace. Where has the relation between the Hindu's lack of historical sense and lack of national sense been better expressed than in these words: "Ils ne peuvent acquérir l'idée d'une nationalité distincte, puisqu'ils ne savent rien de l'histoire de leur pays: l'histoire est aux peuples ce que la mémoire est aux individus, la condition de la personnalité?"

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Church of Christ, The. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$1 net.  
Dix, Morgan. A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Part III. Putnam. \$5.  
Spaulding, Elizabeth H. The Principles of Rhetoric. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.  
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